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Governor Sulzer of New York

None of the men inaugurated as Governors last week presents a more picturesque figure than William Sulzer. Physically he is picturesque—tall and spare, loose-jointed, in form not altogether unlike the ungainly Lincoln. His face and head are described by Mr. James Creelman in the New York "Evening Mail" as "long, lean, fresh-colored . . . with craggy, high cheek-bones, powerful crunching jaws, a mouth alternately loose and smiling or tight and grim, with a lump at the side made by a wad of chewing-tobacco, a singularly steep forehead, and beneath its jutting brows a strong nose, incurved at the bridge and wide at the nostrils, between blue-gray eyes—sometimes the eyes of an innocent boy, sometimes the eyes of a shrewd, suspicious man; a high-crowned head, sign of an idealist or sentimentalist, thatched thickly with tawny blond hair, a wisp of which always hangs picturesquely over the forehead." He is dressed, not in the fashion of the day, but somewhat after the fashion made familiar by Western and Southern politicians during the past thirty or forty years. Thus Mr. Sulzer has been marked by an appearance certainly distinctive. Long a resident of the East Side of New York, one of the most crowded places on earth, he knows intimately, as from the inside, the lives and the manner of thought of those whom men reared in comparative ease sometimes call "the multitude" or "the populace." New York City has been made what it is by the throngs that have come from every quarter of the globe. It is, indeed, the "melting-pot." Although not a native of the East Side (he was born in New Jersey), he came to it as the others have come. It is from the East Side that he has gone as a Representative to Congress, and it is also from the East Side that he now goes to the Governor's chair at Albany. His political career and his political method are such as might be expected from one who has shown his liking to be where people are most numerous. While other men in Congress have spoken to their colleagues, he has been among those who have used their position in Congress as an eminence to speak to as many people as possible. Under the convenient franking system in vogue he has circulated his speeches so widely that it is almost a distinction never to have received a copy. He is, or rather was until very recently, a member of Tammany Hall. Mr. Murphy, the Tammany boss, who controlled the New York State Democratic Convention last fall, never, in his career as an exceedingly able boss, proved his ability more clearly than in his course which resulted in Mr. Sulzer's nomination. Mr. Sulzer has been a loyal member of Tammany Hall, but has always identified himself with popular measures, and, in spite of ridicule directed against him by many newspapers, has always had a large following. Mr. Sulzer is identified both by his adherents and his opponents with the progressive wing of the Democratic party.

Governor Sulzer's Message

This is the sort of man who has come to the position of Chief Executive in the biggest State of the Union—a State with a greater population than the combined population of Arizona, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Maine, Nevada, New Hampshire, North Dakota, Oregon, South Dakota, Vermont; a greater population, in fact, than twice the population of the entire federated commonwealth of Australia. To this office Mr. Sulzer has come with explicit promises to further progressive legislation. In his message to the Legislature delivered on January 1 he presents a programme which has been welcomed and approved by those people, without regard to party, who believe in the need for a series

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of progressive measures. Governor Sulzer urges the ratification of the proposed amendment providing for the popular election of United States Senators. In urging this he puts into one sentence the answer to the fundamental objections to the progressive movement generally: "If the people cannot be trusted, then our government is a failure and the free institutions of the fathers are doomed." It is on trust in the people that he bases his recommendations. In the high cost of living he sees two elements—the increase in the cost of the necessaries of life, and the lack of a corresponding increase in wages. He urges the Legislature rather vaguely to take such action as it deems wise to reduce the cost of these necessaries; but when it comes to the question of wages, his recommendations are by no means vague. In fact, he takes up a whole line of social legislation for the improvement of the conditions of those engaged in industry. "We must now convince employers," says Governor Sulzer, "that any industry that saps the vitality and destroys the initiative of the workers is detrimental to the best interests of the State and menaces the general welfare of the Government." It is on this ground that he urges the enforcement of compulsory education, simultaneously with restrictions upon child labor. Emphatically he repudiates the need of employing children, and denies the inalienable right of any industry to child labor. "No commerce that depends on child labor for its success," he declares, "has a right to exist." He recommends the establishment of legal safety standards to guard against the accidents and diseases of industry, and in particular "the establishment of municipal museums of safety and Government research and investigation." He recommends also the reorganization of the Department of Labor so that it shall have more power to investigate conditions and enforce law.

Governor Sulzer on Minimum Wage Boards

Most important of all, perhaps, is Governor Sulzer's explicit recommendation of a minimum wage law. These are his words:

> To secure for those less accustomed to the competitive struggle, protection that other workers have won for themselves through organization, we should carefully consider the establishment of wage boards with authority to fix a living wage for conditions of work below which standards no industry should be allowed to continue its operations. Massachusetts has enacted such a law. Ohio recently adopted a constitutional amendment authorizing the State Legislature to do the same.

Governor Sulzer's intelligent emphasis on the conservation of the natural resources of the State, his pledge to the merit system in the civil service (somewhat qualified by his appointments to the State Civil Service Commission), his urgency of civil and criminal law reform, his extensive discussion of the needs of the farmers and of the necessity for promotion of agriculture and of good roads, his advocacy of the principle of home rule, though not with the needed emphasis on the right of cities to make their own charters, and his recommendations in the direction of economy, form together a coherent progressive policy. The minimum wage, which Governor Sulzer refers to, we discuss below more in detail. His message as a whole is one that accords with the temper and spirit of the people of the State. In his efforts to fulfill his promises he is entitled to the support of all who believe in progressive legislation. His message invites the opposition of such forces within his party as Tammany Hall and those conservative Democrats who are exceedingly jealous of all property rights and interests. It has called forth criticism from such papers as the New York "Times," an organ of its own party, and is welcomed by the New York "Press," an organ of the Progressive party. If Governor Sulzer holds fast to the faith he has here expressed, and is able to induce the Legislature to transform this faith into works, he will become one of the leaders in the inevitable struggle between the conservative and progressive elements within his own party.

What are Minimum Wage Standards?

In commenting upon Governor Sulzer's recommendation of wage boards, the New York "Sun" furnishes in its utterances an illustration of the prevailing ignorance, even among the ordinarily intelligent, concerning this matter of minimum wage. The "Sun," which prides itself on its information and its qualifications as an instructor of mankind, says that the Governor has apparently failed to distinguish between two kinds of law, and that the Massachusetts law and the constitutional amendment in Ohio which he cited do not refer to minimum wage at all, but to compensation for injury. Such ignorance as the "Sun" displays is one of the

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most serious obstacles to the enactment of intelligent minimum wage laws. Of course Governor Sulzer, as the "Sun" could easily have ascertained, is right. Massachusetts has a minimum wage law, and Ohio has adopted an amendment providing, among other things, for a minimum wage law. The term "minimum wage law" is misleading. It implies a law fixing wages at a minimum. Even Mr. Wilson, as Presidential candidate, seemed to be influenced by this suggestion apparently involved in the term. A minimum wage law is, in fact, a law to prohibit or prevent wages in certain given industries from falling below a certain minimum. In other words, it sets a standard beneath which wages shall not be lowered, but above which they may be raised. It is evident that such a law is needed, particularly in those industries in which, or for those classes of workers for whom, wages are most likely to be unduly depressed. Minimum wage laws, therefore, have usually specified certain industries or classes of workers they are intended to affect. Because the wages of women in factories have shown a particularly low average and an exceedingly low minimum, the chief agitation in this country has been for a minimum wage law for women. The humanitarian impulse, too, is strong in America, and has therefore emphasized woman as a beneficiary of such a law. Thus the Progressive party platform of New York State specified a minimum wage law for women. The fact is, however, that the real motive for the establishment of a minimum wage law is not the one which the "Sun" ascribes to Governor Sulzer, "solicitude for the underpaid"—at least not that primarily—but concern for the future of the country and the race. A nation which year after year and generation after generation might be subjected to the strain of war could not long endure that strain. Neither can any nation long endure what modern industrial nations are enduring—the strain of an unregulated industrial system that has created a great mass of underpaid men and women. Starvation and destitution caused by underpayment cannot be distinguished from starvation and destitution caused by war in draining the vitality of a people.

How a Minimum Wage Law Has Worked

The arguments against a law establishing minimum wage standards have one rather serious defect. They have been proved not to be effective. None of them are new. They have followed the movement for minimum wage scales from country to country and from State to State. Each time they appear as fresh as if they had not encountered defeat. For example, the New York "Sun" warns Governor Sulzer that he is on the edge of a morass, and it apparently is entirely ignorant of the fact that the commonwealth of Australia has been floundering in that morass since 1896—is that not over sixteen years ago? And, moreover, so far from trying to escape from this morass, Australia has been wading in deeper almost year by year—since 1906, literally year by year. Moreover, Australia has not only had several chances to withdraw from the morass, but has actually found itself, on five separate occasions, emerging from it, and has deliberately turned about and gone back into it. In other words, the Minimum Wage Act of Australia was a temporary one when it was first enacted, and it has been renewed five times. It was first applied only to the clothing, shirts, and underclothing trades, and to the trades of bootmaking and baking. It would take a page of The Outlook to recount the extensions of that act to other trades. Mr. Sidney Webb, in the "Journal of Political Economy" for last month, tells of the extensions, and concludes, regarding the law, that "one is tempted, indeed, to believe that little remains now outside its scope except the agricultural occupations and domestic service." None of the predicted evils have followed the act. Employers as well as employees welcome it. It has apparently not increased the cost of production, although it has increased wages. Efficiency, however, it has increased. It has not only reduced the number of those who are on the margin of dependency, it has saved honest employers from dishonest and underhanded competition in arrangements with wage-earners. It has not prevented wholesome competition; on the contrary, it has turned the attention of managers away from competition in reducing wages to competition in increasing efficiency. Compared with the Australian law, the Massachusetts law—the only one of any State in this country—is very meager indeed. It provides for the establishment of minimum wage boards which, in the case of controversy between employers and women employees, shall determine what is a proper minimum below which the wages shall not fall. The only means of enforcing this "determination," as

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it is called, is by the publication of the names of recalcitrant employers. Several States, however, are considering the question. New York is one of these. Others are Ohio, Oregon, Illinois, California, and Wisconsin. In New York the Democratic Governor and the Progressive party are both committed to a minimum wage measure: the Governor by his message, the Progressive party by its platform. Now that in New York the Democratic party, which is in power, may take up this question, we hope that the Progressive party will, first of all, express in the form of a bill its own ideal of what such a minimum wage law should be for the State, doing this either by drafting its own bill or by indorsing any bill that it regards as satisfactory; and, second, putting its weight behind any measure, whatever its source, which promises any advance toward a suitable minimum wage law.

Turning a Platform into Law

The suggestion, made above, that the Progressive party of New York should, as a party, draft or indorse a bill for the establishment of minimum wage standards, is not one that could be made to most parties, because they have no machinery for doing so. The Progressive party, however, has established a precedent in at least three States for doing this very thing. In New York the party representatives, assembled in convention, created a committee for translating the planks of the party platform into the form of bills to be submitted to the Legislature, and for presenting before the Legislature arguments in behalf of them. This was done also in Connecticut and in Pennsylvania. As is well known, the name "Progressive" was appropriated by opponents of the Progressive party in Pennsylvania, in order to keep the Progressive party in that State from using it. Oddly enough, however, while the Progressives in Pennsylvania were denied their name, they secured at the primaries control of the Republican party organization and a predominance in the Legislature. So, while in New York and Connecticut the Progressive party cannot enact this platform, in Pennsylvania it is probable that it can do so. It is merely through a confusion of nomenclature that there is presented the anomaly of a Republican State organization drafting bills to be submitted to a Legislature controlled by members of the Washington party (under which name Progressives were elected to the Legislature), in order to put into effect a Progressive platform. These bills relate to two general classes of legislation—one concerning elections and the machinery of government, including primaries; the other concerning social and industrial conditions and the control of public service utilities. On these bills public hearings have been held, and in many cases have been redrafted after being subjected to scrutiny. The bills that relate to social and economic conditions have been published, and each bill contains a foreword, or introductory note, in some cases of considerable length, explaining the purpose of the bill to which it refers. Among the specially important are those further restricting the labor of women and children. The child labor bill has been indorsed by the Child Labor Association, and the bill regulating the employment of women by the Consumers' League; and both by the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor. Although the Progressives do not hold the majority of members in the Pennsylvania Senate, they have such a large minority in that house that, with the majority they have in the lower house, they, with the help of progressive members of other parties, will probably succeed in enacting these measures. In the other States all the party can do is to introduce bills which can be presented as examples of what the party would do if it were in power, and thus serve as a support to the progressive members in the Legislature whatever their party name may be.

The Garment Workers' Strike

It is safe to say that over a hundred thousand workers in the clothing trade (some of the leaders say 140,000) are involved in the strike which began last week in New York City and its environs. The number of those who have actually gone out is in dispute, but it is put by good judges as high as 85,000. All of these strikers are makers of men's clothing; no cloakmakers or white goods workers are involved. The demands of the strikers include a working week of forty-eight hours (six eight-hour days), a minimum wage scale in some branches of the work, overtime pay at the rate of one and a half times the regular wage, and the abolition in those branches of the trade which are involved of tenement-house labor and the evils of sub-contracting. In the making of men's coats there

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are so many separate operations and consequently so much division of labor that the men find piece-work an oppressive method and wish to substitute pay by day or week. The fact that the several branches of the general trade have separate demands and complaints makes the issue somewhat complicated, but the principal requirements from the employees are as above stated. It is pointed out by the strikers that their work is seasonal in its character, and that many of the employees are unemployed or have to turn to something other than the work for which they are trained, if they are to sustain themselves through the slack season. The only way to estimate wages is by the yearly income, and this is reported to be less and less under the prevailing trade methods, while the cost of living is increasing. Both the workers and the employers have strong organizations. There seem, however, to be indications that efforts at mediation may be received favorably. A singular fact about this strike is that the workers left their shops before they made their demands and presented their grievances. Their explanation for this course is that it was a matter of industrial tactics; they felt that only by a big demonstration could they impress their employers and bring them even to consider the demands; that discussion and argument before such a demonstration would be futile and only result in delay. This may have force as a method of industrial war (just as, in international warfare, a country begins fighting before it issues its declaration of war), but the only real hope of settling industrial disputes is in compromise, conciliation, and arbitration, not in fighting to the bitter end. So far as we can judge, no real effort at peaceful settlement was made in this strike, although, as Mr. Paul Kennaday points out in a letter to the New York "Times," four methods of settlement are provided under the New York law, and the State Commissioner has large powers, not amounting to compulsory arbitration, to be sure, but still such as to aid materially, if fully exercised, in settling such disputes as that now existing in the garment trade. The strike of cloakmakers in New York two years ago was one of the bitterest ever fought out, but it resulted in a mode of settling future disputes which seems to be working satisfactorily. Would not the present strikers have done well to attempt the securing of such an agreement before instead of after unemployment, distress, and ill-feeling?

How to "Save Face"

Up to last week at the London Conference between Bulgarian, Servian, Montenegrin, and Greek delegates on the one hand and Turkish on the other, there was a breach wide as Turkey itself. It is now somewhat healed by the apparent greater willingness of the Turkish delegates to come to feasible terms of peace. The first terms proposed by the allies were that Turkey should cede to them practically all of her territory in Europe. Turkey's counter-proposals were the cession of a very small part of Turkey-in-Europe, accompanied, however, by certain enlarged commercial and other privileges. But, by the terms of the latest Turkish offer, as reported, a large part of Turkey-in-Europe is to be surrendered. Turkey, it appears, would retain, according to this proposal, most of the province of Thrace, including, of course, the fortress of Adrianople, about a hundred and forty miles north of Constantinople. For sentimental and strategic reasons Turkey regards Adrianople as her most precious European possession outside of the capital city itself. Macedonia—the central province lying between Thrace in the east and Albania on the west—would be ceded to the allies. Albania would be turned over to the Powers, to be erected into an entirely autonomous State, provided the Sultan is left as suzerain over it. With regard to the Ægean Islands, however, Turkey announces that, as they are not a part of Turkey-in-Europe, but a part of Turkey-in-Asia, they have nothing to do with the present plans! This is an ingenious "bluff." Most of the islands do lie off the Asian coast. But, as a matter of fact, some important ones are close to Europe—Thasos, Samothrace, Imbros, and Lemnos, for instance. These, together with Tenedos off the Asian shore, are of vital strategic value, for they guard the entrance to the Dardanelles Straits, leading from the Ægean Sea to Constantinople and the Black Sea. In the same way, of the islands off the Asian coast, Mitylene and Chios are important, as they lie on either side the entrance to the Gulf of Smyrna—and the port and city of Smyrna form the largest shipping and commercial center in Asia Minor. All of the Ægean Islands have now been captured by Greece except the twelve still in Italy's hands as the result of the Italo-Turkish War. Those who regard the islands' transfer as inevitable have suggested that, to "save face," Turkey might cede all of them to

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Italy. That Power would then decide their fate. The suggestion recalls the war of 1866 between Italy and Austria, at the close of which Austria returned Venetia, which she had long occupied, to Italy. But in order to "save face" Austria ceded Venetia to France and France then transferred the great North Italian province to Italy, from whom it never should have been taken. Another suggestion is that Turkey cede the Ægean Islands to the Powers, as she has already announced her willingness to do in the case of Albania. But in any event, and whatever method be adopted, as the vast majority of the islanders are Greek, there can be little question as to where the ultimate sovereignty should lie. If not this year, then some year we may expect a return of the ancient sway of Greece over these classic lands.

The Balkan Woman's Part in the Balkan War

"The Suffragette" is a weekly paper published in London. It recently contained the report of an address by Mrs. Israel Zangwill at the London Pavilion. The speech discloses a point of view regarding the Balkan war which, we believe, has not yet been appreciated. In the ultimate analysis, according to Mrs. Zangwill, the Balkan victory has been won because every Turkish soldier is a single unit, whereas every married man in the Balkan army counts, more or less, as two. Thus Turkey has not been fighting against four allies, but really against eight! That this is not a fantastical explanation is shown by the part played by the Balkan women in the war. "In their native towns and villages they are doing most of the work usually performed by men," and thus keep things going while the men are at the front. Hence "the real base of the Balkan army is formed by the Balkan women at home." Again, "the Balkan women are actively employed in carrying provisions and ammunition to the forces." Indeed, among the Servians, asserts Mrs. Zangwill, "women form the only Army Service Corps." She adds:

> Women are doing the cooking, the sewing, the washing, for the soldiers; women are nursing the wounded. Women are dying in the fighting line. And practically all this extra strength and service is on one side only, the side of the allies. What wonder that the Turks have been defeated!

But this is not all. "It is obvious that a people all of whom are able-bodied will be stronger than a people only half of whom are able-bodied"—as is the case with the Turks. It is not so obvious, however, as Mrs. Zangwill is careful to point out, that the difference is not only in quantity, it is also in quality:

> The allies have not only proved themselves unsuspectedly superior in fighting strength, they have also proved themselves unsuspectedly superior in *morale*. . . . When women hold the position that they do in Turkey, it may well be biologically undesirable for the race. . . . The wife is "a mere cipher in the household." . . . Women have as far as possible been eliminated. . . . The Turk has treated woman as a sort of indiscretion on the part of the Creator!

The present war is a proof of the falsity of this ideal, says Mrs. Zangwill. Hence she feels that this war is not a triumph of Christianity over Mohammedanism so much as the triumph of the Christian position of woman over the Mohammedan position of woman.

> It may be said that in the past the Turks have been great fighters. That was when all the nations were also in an early stage of civilization. . . . Certainly to-day the Turk has shown his inferiority. Doubtless he might win again were he to be given an advantage great enough to outbalance the handicap of mono-sexuality.

An instance of the mono-sexual point of view Mrs. Zangwill finds in the case of the Mayflower:

> We are all taught that America was founded by the Pilgrim Fathers. This is a half-truth that is worse than a lie. America was founded by the Pilgrim Fathers and the Pilgrim Mothers; indeed, for my part, I should put the Mothers first. The Pilgrim Fathers alone might have conquered America, but I very much doubt whether they would have colonized it. Had these women been mere slaves dragged at the heels of their masters, . . . the New England that we know would never have arisen.

A World Tour on Behalf of Men and Religion

On January 3 seven men will start westward to travel around the world with the purpose of extending what is known as The Men and Religion Forward Movement. This undertaking is one of the signs of the new spirit in missions. A year ago bands of men were going from city to city in the United States. Each city to which they came had been prepared for their coming. An organization in the city had studied the people of the city and the conditions under which they lived. Then when the group of experts reached the city,

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several days were devoted to public meetings and to the consideration of methods by which conditions could be improved. It was the best kind of "gospel preaching," because there is no better way by which the good news of Christianity can be spread among people than by setting those people to work in some kind of useful service for the good of their fellows. Two of the leaders in this movement were Mr. Fred B. Smith and Mr. Raymond Robins. These two men came to their common task from widely divergent origins. Mr. Fred Smith had long been an evangelistic speaker before Young Men's Christian Associations, while Mr. Robins had been engaged in social work, especially that sort of social work done through settlements. Their union in this common task was a vivid illustration of the fact that religion is not true religion until it is infused with human service, just as human service is not true human service that is not infused with the spirit of religion. It is these two men, accompanied by a male quartette of the Young Men's Christian Association and by Mr. James E. Lathrop, who will employ the methods of the Men and Religion Forward Movement in the course of a trip around the world. The greater part of their time will be spent in English-speaking communities. Their itinerary will carry them across the continent to San Francisco, and from there in succession to Hawaii, Japan, China, the Philippine Islands, Australia, South Africa, thence to London, afterwards to Zurich, then back to New York, the place of their departure. They can spend but a brief time in each city they visit, but in each place they will have been preceded by an organizing secretary, Mr. H. N. Holmes, who is charged with making the arrangements and preparations through local committees, as was done in this country.

A Good Beginning

The effort in New York City to promote a reasonable and respectable New Year's Eve was interesting in itself and gave assurance that the idea is right and that it will grow. What has been generally called "the safe and sane New Year's Eve" does not mean the suppression of merriment, jollity, and even hilarity, but it is a protest against rowdyism, vulgarity, and dissipation. That there is plenty of room for such reform is indicated by the New York "Sun's" assertion on New Year's Day that the previous night saw "those same old New Year's Eve orgies of crime and drunkenness on the streets and in restaurants all over the city." The "Sun" adds: "In fact, the police said yesterday that this was the wildest first of January the city ever has seen. Stabbings, shootings, and false fire alarms came thick and fast." Other reports are less pessimistic. The greater part of the rowdyism apparently occurred after midmight. What the movement started by Mr. Jacob Riis actually accomplished was to provide a sensible and dignified way of rejoicing. A great chorus of six hundred voices in Madison Square sang several choral numbers and led the immense crowd of perhaps 80,000 people in patriotic and familiar songs. At Union Square, at City Hall Park, and at Herald Square similar song services were held—all between the hours of eleven and twelve. The crowds seemed interested and joined heartily in the singing. For next year the suggestion has been made of including a great torchlight procession down Fifth Avenue. The Committee feel that New York has indorsed their protest overwhelmingly, and that something has begun that will change the whole character of the night. They propose at once to organize a Committee for next year and to invite the Christmas Tree Committee to make common cause with them. Mr. Riis's general conclusion and comment, justified, we believe, by the actual facts, is as follows:

> We hope that we have begun something which will become an institution in this city on New Year's Eve in the years to come. The great heart of New York is all right. The celebration planned by the Committee went far beyond our expectations. We hardly had expected to do more than register a moral protest against rowdyism on the part of hoodlums and a certain part of the respectable people who turn hoodlums on that night, and in that respect the safe and sane celebration was enormously successful. I believe that New York had a quieter and more dignified New Year's Eve than it has had for many years.

A Christmas Play

The most beautiful characteristic of the Christmas spirit is its essential simplicity. Christmas is as elemental as sunlight. Its deepest mysteries find their truest expression in words and music clear enough for the comprehension of babes. The symbolism of its ceremonies, beside the Latin crêche and the Teutonic Christmas tree, is direct enough for the understanding of children and pure enough

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for the delight of angels. Last week The Outlook called to the attention of its readers certain of the more notable of the Christmas Day celebrations. On the 27th a somewhat belated miracle play was given in the Cathedral at Garden City, Long Island. Before the carved screen that separates the crypt from the mausoleum was erected a straw-covered stage backed by a rude but effective representation of a stable door. Children were the actors, and the play was the legend of the little maid that had no arms. It will be remembered that the "little maid" was the daughter of the innkeeper at Bethlehem. For her service at the manger-side her arms are miraculously restored. Much of the charm of the play came from the unconscious serenity with which the little actors moved through their simple parts. Chubby Saint Joseph, the lame beggar who lost his crutch before he was healed, the solemn wise man from Ethiopia, and the golden-haired angel so entranced with the movements of the pasteboard star that she forgot to sing, are memories not soon to be forgotten. Somehow the voices and faces of little children bring home as nothing else can the reality, the vitality, and the imaginative beauty of the Christmas tradition.

Rackety-Packety House

One of the Vanderbilt family has made to the children of New York City a New Year's present in constructing for them a Children's Theater, which is erected on the roof of the Century Theater. The first performance was given to invited guests on the Saturday preceding Christmas. The play was Mrs. Hodgson Burnett's "Rackety-Packety House." Entering the Century Theater on the first floor, the guest was carried by the elevator to the roof and landed in a hall which gave entrance to the Children's Theater. Entering, he found a room capable of seating an audience of about eight hundred. It is without galleries and has no boxes at the side and none at the stage, but half a dozen or so at the rear of the audience-room. The walls are painted a warm gray, without decoration. The abundant gilding, and often garish ornamentation, characteristic of the modern theater, and sometimes even of the modern church, are conspicuously absent; the only decoration being some plastic figures at the side and above the stage. The house, on the 21st of December, was filled to its utmost capacity, more than half the audience being children. Some of the best-known business men of New York were among the guests, and it was pleasant to get this glimpse of the supposedly hard-headed business man surrounded by his children and grandchildren and getting a joyous time from their enjoyment. In "Rackety-Packety House" Mrs. Burnett has shown rare ability to understand the child's imagination, though we think the play would have appealed to children more if it had furnished a greater variety of incident. The prelude shows a little girl and her aged nurse in the nursery. She is rejoicing that her old doll-house and the old dolls are to be sent down into the cellar and perhaps burned up, and a new doll-house and new dolls are coming to take their place, and quite disregards the protest of the old nurse against this disposition of the dolls and doll-house with which the little girl's mother played in her childhood. In the rest of the drama the dolls in "Rackety-Packety House" and the dolls in "Tidy Castle" come to life and play their parts in a very simple drama which centers around the elopement of Peter Piper, the hero of "Rackety-Packety House," with the daughter of the Duchess who occupies Tidy Castle. Nearly all the parts were taken by children, but the part of Peter Piper was taken by one of the "midgets," a dwarf no larger than a child of six or eight years of age, and he proved himself a remarkable actor. The Outlook does not favor taking young children to the theater. To do this is apt to rob them of the simpler enjoyments fitted for child life, and apt to make them blasé and dull their enjoyment of the theater when the time comes for their full appreciation of the drama; but, if children are to go to the theater at all, they had better go to the Children's Theater and see such a play as "Rackety-Packety House," rather than the type of play written for adults, and abounding with situations and with dialogues the point of which children sometimes cannot understand and rarely can appreciate.

A Business Government by Business Men

Here is the story of how the business men of one community met the demand for municipal improvements and set an example of civic and commercial conduct which is of great significance and which, if more widely followed, would mean a great improvement in civic conditions: Passaic is mainly industrial,

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and, while within the suburban zone and beautifully situated, has made a bid for an industrial development rather than for the commuter. Naturally, it was recognized that heavy taxation was a burden, and every advantage was therefore given manufacturers without actually giving them freedom from taxation. Their values were made low and for many years were kept low. Manufacturers have added to their plants and increased their business, and surrounding conditions have added to the value of their original investment, but their assessments have not increased materially. Labor was attracted and it helped to make the city better from the manufacturers' standpoint, as it was understood that help of a desirable kind could always be secured. It doubled the city's population each ten years for the past four censuses, with the inevitable result that many municipal improvements which ordinarily come quietly had to be adopted and put into practice quickly. Schools came one after another rapidly. Sanitary conditions, sewage, fire and police protection had to be provided, and the burden, as between the manufacturer and the resident, became uneven. In September, 1911, Passaic adopted a commission government. The budget for the year was made in June. An effort to create a low tax rate by the old Council resulted in much necessary expenditure being unprovided for. The city changed from volunteer to paid fire department; installed automobile apparatus; built a new fire house; increased its police force and its firemen, and installed the Gamewell signal system. It has just completed a new high school, and entered into a contract for a proportionate share of the cost of the Passaic trunk sewer amounting to $700,000. The Commissioners were confronted with the necessity of meeting these obligations, and realized it would mean an enormous increase in taxes upon all of the people unless a remedy were found. They consulted with the manufacturers, pointed out the necessity of meeting the issue, showed how valuations were not on a parity, and that the reason for low taxation as a help to struggling industry was past. The manufacturers were requested to make a statement of value of their plants, buildings, land, and personal, for the purposes of taxation; and most of them responded, with the result that over $5,000,000 was added to the tax ratings and the needed improvements provided for without incurring debt.

MODERN JEFFERSONIANISM

The President-elect spent his birthday at his birthplace, Staunton, Virginia, where he was warmly received by his fellow-citizens, to whom he made an address, from which we quote the following paragraph:

> The one thing that the business men of the United States are now discovering, some of them for themselves and some of them by suggestion, is that they are not going to be allowed to make any money except for a *quid pro quo*, that they must render a service or get nothing, and that in the regulation of business the Government, that is to say, the moral judgment of the majority, must determine whether what they are doing is a service or not a service, and that everything in business and politics is going to be reduced to this standard. "Are you giving anything to society when you want to take something out of society?" is the question to put to them.

This seems to The Outlook admirable. It does not seem so to the New York "Times," which was one of Mr. Wilson's strongest supporters in the recent campaign. The "Times" presents two objections to what we should have regarded as almost an axiom: first, that the axiom is not contained in the Constitution of the United States—"We do not ourselves find explicit warrant for it in the Constitution which the people have set up as a standard of conduct for their elected representatives, legislative or executive;" and, secondly, "It is hardly one that can be found in the writings of Thomas Jefferson," but is, on the contrary, a view "that might well make Mr. Jefferson, were he living, first gasp and then rage."

That it is any objection to the maxim laid down by Mr. Woodrow Wilson, that it is found neither in the Constitution of the United States nor in the writings of Thomas Jefferson, appears to us to take high rank among the humors of political discussion. We did not suppose that there was any political writer living in this beginning of the twentieth century so archaic as to insist that the American people in the twentieth century can avail themselves of no principle of conduct not explicitly affirmed in the Constitution of the United States nor found in Thomas Jefferson's writings.

There is no explicit warrant in the Constitution of the United States for the construction of public works by the Nation; but the Nation is carrying on public works on a large scale. There is no explicit warrant in the Constitution of the United States for the

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suppression of revolt by a State against the Federal Government; but the Nation expended millions of dollars and sacrificed thousands of lives to suppress such a revolt. There is no explicit warrant in the Constitution of the United States for the acquisition of territory by the Nation; but the Nation has acquired by successive purchases territory which now makes the Nation extend from the Atlantic to the Pacific coast and from the northern Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico. The Nation is a nation, and has a right to do anything which any nation has a right to do except as it is explicitly prohibited by the Constitution. The Constitution is not "a standard of conduct," determining what the Nation may do; it is an order or method prescribed which the representatives of the Nation are to follow in doing what the Nation demands.

As to Thomas Jefferson, it may be true that Mr. Wilson's maxim is not to be found in his writings, but we are by no means sure that if Mr. Jefferson were living this maxim would make him "first gasp and then rage." Henry Ward Beecher once said: "I am a Calvinist, because if John Calvin were now living he would believe as I believe." Mr. Wilson might well say: "I am a Jeffersonian, because if Jefferson were now living he would believe as I believe." Jefferson believed in the people—in their intelligence, their virtue, their ability. He feared strong government, because in his time strong governments were founded on disbelief in the people and were organized and carried on to limit their liberty. In our time those who believe in the intelligence, the virtue, and the ability of the people believe in strong government, because they believe the people are intelligent, virtuous, and able enough to make that government an instrument for the promotion of the common welfare. Woodrow Wilson has inherited the spirit of Thomas Jefferson and is applying that principle to conditions which did not exist in Thomas Jefferson's life. The opponents of that principle have inherited the spirit of the old aristocracy and are applying that spirit in the support of a new kind of aristocracy quite as hostile to liberty as was the old one, and less defensible.

It seems almost superfluous to argue for the truth of the axiom laid down by Mr. Wilson. It is almost the first duty of government to prevent men from getting wealth from the community without giving to the community an adequate compensation. It is for this purpose that government prohibits robbery, theft, forgery, embezzlement, gambling. These are crimes, because by these the criminal gets something from the community for which he has made no adequate return. Greed is sagacious. It discovers new methods of getting from society wealth without making return for it in service, and whenever it does discover such a method and puts it in operation it is the business of government to discover and put in operation a method to prevent this new form of dishonesty. To suppose that greed can avail itself of intelligence in inventing new methods of robbery, and that the community cannot avail itself of new methods for the prevention of robbery; to suppose that greed can employ in the twentieth century all the methods which nineteenth-century experience has developed in the criminal classes, high and low, rich and poor, and that the community can employ no methods for its protection against such criminals if the method is not explicitly found in the Constitution and in the writings of Thomas Jefferson, is to suppose that the unscrupulous have liberty to prey upon the community and that the community has no liberty to protect itself from them.

This is a doctrine of liberty which "might well make Mr. Jefferson, were he living, first gasp and then rage."

POPULAR CABINET-MAKING

On another page we report the results of the activities on the part of newspaper editors in the important task of relieving the President-elect of the duty of making his own Cabinet.

This discussion is worth recording, not because it will or ought to have any great weight in determining how Mr. Wilson's Cabinet will be formed, but because it shows some of the stronger currents of opinion in the country. The bitterness of the attack on Mr. Bryan indicates somewhat the strength of that conservative, not to say reactionary, sentiment with which the progressive element in the Democratic party will have to deal during the coming administration.

Mr. Wilson has been taking counsel with others as well as with himself; there is, however, every indication that he will not delegate the duty of Cabinet-making to the newspapers, but will make his own Cabinet himself.

A President ought to consult with the

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leaders of his party, he ought to consider public opinion, but he ought to choose his own colleagues.

LETTERS TO UNKNOWN FRIENDS

In the issue of The Outlook of December 4, between two periods (making thereby a complete sentence), you say: "Ernst Haeckel is sometimes called an atheist, but he is not one; he might probably be called a pantheist." Referring to the Standard Dictionary, we find that an atheist is "one who holds or advocates atheism in any sense;" and that atheism is "the denial of the existence of God. . . ." Let us eliminate Haeckel's "monistic" ideas, and get down to the pure English, or the translation, of his writings. His last work is "The Wonders of Life;" in the chapter on Dualism, page 437, he says: "Modern science has opened out to us immense departments of the real world that are accessible to observation and rational inquiry; but it has not taught us a single fact that points to the existence of an immaterial world. On the contrary, it has shown more and more clearly that the supposed world beyond is a pure fiction, and only merits to be treated as a subject for poetry. Physics and chemistry in particular have proved that all phenomena that come under our observation depend on physical and chemical laws, and that all can be traced to the comprehensive and unified law of substance. Anthropogeny has taught us the evolution of man from animal ancestors. Comparative anatomy and physiology have shown that his mind is a function of the brain, and his will not free; and that his soul, absolutely bound up with its material organ, passes away at death like the souls of other mammals. Finally, modern cosmology and cosmogony have found no trace whatever of the existence and activity of a personal and extra-mundane God. All that comes within the range of our knowledge is a part of the material world." There is not an "if" in the entire quotation, and the only "but" in it is a negative of theism. In justice to Haeckel, therefore, I ask, Is he not an atheist? Should you say, He is not, I shall have to question the ability of one or the other of us to understand the English language when it is used in the most simple and direct fashion. ***

My statement that Haeckel is not an atheist was based on his "History of Creation," published in 1879, from which I quote the following paragraph:

"The opponents of the monistic or mechanical conception of the world have welcomed Agassiz's work with delight, and find in it a perfect proof of the direct creative action of a personal God. But they overlook the fact that this personal Creator is only an idealized organism endowed with human attributes. This low dualistic conception of God corresponds with a low animal stage of development of the human organism. The more developed man of the present day is capable of, and justified in, conceiving that infinitely nobler and sublimer idea of God which alone is compatible with the monistic conception of the universe, and which recognizes God's spirit and power in all phenomena without exception. This monistic idea of God, which belongs to the future, has already been expressed by Giordano Bruno in the following words: 'A spirit exists in all things, and no body is so small but contains a part of the divine substance within itself, by which it is animated.' It is of this noble idea of God that Goethe says: 'Certainly there does not exist a more beautiful worship of God than that which needs no image, but which arises in our hearts from converse with Nature.' By it we arrive at the sublime idea of the Unity of God and Nature."

Whether, since Professor Haeckel wrote the "History of Creation," he has changed his mind, or whether he thinks there is some ground on which the utterances which our correspondent quotes from his later work and the utterances which we have quoted from his earlier work can be reconciled, we will not undertake to say. It is certain that the philosophy of his earlier work was pantheistic, not atheistic. The paragraph which we have quoted represents the philosophy of the two volumes, the spirit of which is represented by the running caption over one of its pages, "All Nature is Animate."

There are two contradictory philosophies which attempt to get rid of all notion of dualism in nature—idealism and materialism.

Idealism assumes that there is no matter; nothing but mind.

Materialism assumes that there is no mind; nothing but matter.

Nobody really believes either theory. At the most he only imagines that he believes it. The idealist who thinks there is no matter, nothing but mind, suffers from the toothache and goes to the dentist to have the tooth filled or extracted, as though he were a materialist. The materialist who thinks there is no mind, nothing but matter, does not seek to punish the dynamite clock which explodes and destroys a building; he seeks to punish the moral being who put the dynamite clock in its place for the purpose of destroying the building.

The true test of belief is conduct. We all act as though there were both mind and matter.

The idealist who should consistently act

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on the notion that there is no matter and go about as though there were none, going into the public streets, for example, without any clothes on, we should put in the insane asylum. The materialist who should act as though there were no mind, holding it to be no crime for him to shoot his neighbor, because he and his neighbor were both pieces of machinery, we should put into State's prison. The one philosophy is as irrational as the other.

All our physical civilization, our railways, our steamboats, our houses, our furnaces that warm them, all are based on the reality of matter. All our moral civilization, our pity for the unfortunate, our humane endeavors to relieve their misfortunes, our indignation against wrong-doers, our administration of justice in punishing them, our assumption that there is such a thing as justice between man and man and our courts organized to find out what justice is, our assumption that there is such a thing as liberty and our organization of governments to protect it, our assumption that there is such a thing as honesty and our creation of a credit system based upon honesty, our assumption that there is such a thing as love and our creation of the family knit together by the bonds of love—all are based on the belief that there is mind as well as matter.

We have published our correspondent's letter in justice to himself and to Mr. Haeckel. We have published Mr. Haeckel's previous statement in justice to ourselves and also in justice to Mr. Haeckel. With this publication we take leave of this issue, if it can be called an issue. We shall not think it necessary in the future to attempt to prove to the idealist that matter exists, nor to the materialist that mind exists. The reality of both are assumed by all sane men. Upon that assumption they all without exception base their daily conduct. To deny the existence of mind is no more sane than to deny the existence of matter. The whole world of men outside of the insane asylum act as though both mind and matter exist, and this universal action of humanity demonstrates the reality of their belief in the existence of both. Any philosophy which denies the existence of either mind or matter never practically gets beyond the four walls of the room in which the recluse has conceived it.

LYMAN ABBOTT.

GOVERNMENT BY DYNAMITE

NOTHING less than government by dynamite would be involved in the extension of the practices and purposes of the thirty-eight conspirators who have lately been convicted at Indianapolis. Indeed, Judge Anderson's summary of the case when he sentenced the prisoners used just this phrase, for he remarked that "government by injunction is infinitely to be preferred to government by dynamite."

Corporations and unions have individuality as truly as have men. There may be a criminal labor union as there may be a criminal man. The case just ended by the conviction of thirty-eight out of forty accused men was the case of a criminal labor union. This does not mean that the result was a blow at organized labor. Detective Burns, who perhaps knows more about these dynamite cases than any other man living, has put himself on record as saying that "nine-tenths of the laboring men in this country don't want dynamiting or violence. . . . It is the task of organized labor to purge itself—to clean house thoroughly." But when we say that the criminal in this case was a union, it must be remembered that the indictment was not for the separate crimes committed, which may still be prosecuted in the localities where they took place, but for a large and general conspiracy. Judge Anderson summed up the matter briefly as follows:

> The evidence discloses an appalling list of crimes in addition to those charged in the indictments. These crimes were all committed in the name of organized labor. I will not believe that organized labor approves of such practices. Any organization that approves and adopts the methods of these defendants is an outlaw, and will meet the fate which outlaws have met since civilized society began.
>
> The evidence unquestionably establishes that the officers and the persons occupying positions as members of the executive board of the international association, from the time of the action of the board in directing the omission from the monthly publication of the detailed expenses, as stated, up to the time of the arrest of the McNamaras and McManigal, each knew of and aided in the purchase and unlawful transportation of dynamite and nitroglycerine as above stated.
>
> The only question has been how far the conspiracy extended and whether or not all of the

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defendants on trial were parties thereto. The evidence clearly establishes that each of the defendants found guilty by the verdict of the jury was a member of this conspiracy, and in some measure aided and abetted in the unlawful transportations charged in the indictment. Upon this proposition there can be no reasonable question.

Such a conspiracy as that above described is nothing less than private war. There is nothing new in the idea of a criminal labor union. In the early days a conspiracy within a union to fight its enemies by violence was only too common. Charles Reade has painted a vivid picture of this sort of violence in his novel "Put Yourself in His Place." But with the recognition by the general public of the right and justice of organizing labor it had been hoped that this private warfare had come to an end. Compared with such secret murderous plotting the "sabotage" of foreign unions and the "direct action" advocated by some of the Industrial Workers seem only mildly reprehensible. Most labor organizations and most men who belong to them would shrink with horror from such actions as the convicted men have been found guilty of under the sworn verdict of a jury which has spent months in patiently considering the evidence. Yet it must be held in mind that here has been in fact one union which has committed crimes and allowed the commission of crimes. The fate which has befallen the conspirators and the popular outpouring of condemnation will, one may well hope, make the future existence of such conspiracies impossible.

The history of the dynamite conspiracy is melodramatic in incident. It has had more thrilling incidents than most novels of crime and detection.

Over seven years ago an attempt was made in New Haven, Connecticut, to blow up a building upon which non-union men were working. This is believed to be the first of a series of perhaps one hundred or more crimes or attempted crimes of this character. The Iron-Workers' Union made war upon the open shop wherever it existed. From first to last the fight was essentially not one for higher wages or better conditions, but for the exclusion of non-union labor throughout the trade. The Secretary of the Iron-Workers' Union was John J. McNamara, and his headquarters were at Indianapolis. His brother, James B. McNamara, and the informer Ortie McManigal, whose testimony has been the strongest evidence in all the cases, were nothing more than hired assassins. They were aided by others as reckless and criminal as themselves. Soon the war against the open shop broke out in different parts of the country in the form of acts of violence, chiefly by dynamiting, on buildings and bridges in which the iron and steel work had been done by non-union labor. Finally came the crowning crime in the blowing up of the building belonging to the Los Angeles "Times," when twenty-one people, almost all of them working people, were killed outright and many others were injured. The question might be asked, Why should such a crime be committed against a newspaper office by striking iron-workers? It has been said that this was practically a loan of assassins by one set of conspirators to another set. The general object was the same—to frighten employers from engaging non-union labor. Los Angeles was in a desperate condition as regards labor matters, and the "Times," together with its proprietor, General Otis, was bitterly hated by labor leaders of the more violent type. James B. McNamara, who set off the bomb, was himself a printer, but the fact that the people killed were mostly printers did not prevent him from expressing disappointment that the loss of life had not included others who escaped.

It was this horrible crime in Los Angeles which brought the criminal conspiracy into the light. An association of iron and steel employers had engaged the famous detective William J. Burns to solve the mystery of these repeated crimes so similar in character. The methods employed in Los Angeles were exactly the same that had been found in the steel and iron dynamiting outrages all over the country, and Burns was soon able to lay such a network of traps about the feet of the McNamaras and their accomplices that McManigal sought safety in confession. The result of the trial in California, as our readers will remember, was that the two McNamara brothers, finding that the evidence against them was tremendously strong, pleaded guilty and accepted a jail sentence rather than run the risk of capital punishment which was looming very close over their heads.

Here, as an illustration of the tension and excitement of the whole case, we may quote from "McClure's" Mr. Burns's account of the arrest of the McNamaras:

Our party registered at a hotel [in Indianapolis] opposite the one in which McNamara and McManigal were stopping, and watched them

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all day. It became apparent that they were not going to do any dynamiting in Toledo. Next morning they went to the railroad station and bought tickets for Detroit. They watched till the last moment before they got on the train—to be sure that they were not followed!

They sat in a day-coach full of women and children, and they had suit-cases that presumably contained dynamite—besides being fully armed, of course—and our detectives decided not to tackle them where a blunder might cause a great loss of life. Coming into Detroit, they showed a good deal too much interest in several bridges that they passed. It became plain that Detroit was to be their objective point. As a matter of fact, we learned later that they had five "jobs" to do there.

When the train stopped, they got off and scrutinized every one who came out of the cars, and then they wandered around the streets rather aimlessly until they came to the Oxford Hotel. Our men watched them register and argue with the clerk—who wasn't able to give them a room right away—and then they checked their suit-cases. That was the cue for the arrest. The lobby was crowded with a theatrical troupe, and McNamara elbowed his way through towards the door, with McManigal following. McManigal was in handcuffs before McNamara missed him. We grabbed McNamara at the door. As it happened, they had left their revolvers in the satchels—along with a rifle that was fitted with a Maxim "silencer" for picking off night watchmen, six clock-batteries of the Los Angeles and Peoria pattern slightly improved, caps, wires, tools, and even a battery-tester.

With the arrest of the McNamaras the long series of crimes against the iron and steel builders had stopped absolutely, and that in itself might rightly be regarded as evidence of a unity of purpose and action—in short, of a conspiracy. The detectives and Government prosecuting attorneys were fully convinced that the crimes had been planned by men higher up in the International Iron-Workers' Union than even James J. McNamara. But to prove the accusation was difficult. What actually took place in the Union has been described by Mr. Burns as follows:

The system was this: The council appropriated, every now and then, from $1,000 to $3,500 for "organization work." These appropriations averaged over $1,000 a month. This was a special fund, entirely separate from the regular expenses of organizers. It was given to J. J. McNamara as secretary and treasurer, and he gave no account of it. Their constitution provided that they print all their expenditures in their "Bridgeman's Magazine," but their executive council had simply decided some years before that they would stop giving these accounts.

When the secretary and treasurer got this money he put it into a private bank account, and whenever his brother or McManigal blew up something, he checked out their $200 direct from this private bank account. There's no guessing about this. We have the evidence of the whole transaction, from the minutes of the council making the appropriation, to J. J. McNamara's checks from his private account to his brother and McManigal. And we've got the letters. When they pulled off a job, they'd send in newspaper clippings describing the results of their dynamiting for bills before they'd get their money.

Substantially what Burns thus described long ago is what has just been proved by the evidence in the so-called dynamite cases at Indianapolis. Frank M. Ryan, whose name stands at the head of the list of forty defendants, was the President of the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, of which J. J. McNamara was Secretary. The other prisoners include the Vice-President of the Executive Board of the Association, three or four other members of the Executive Board, business agents of the union in widely separated localities, and many less important conspirators who arranged for the crimes to come off or assisted in various ways in their execution. Mr. Ryan received a sentence of seven years; and this has been generally commented upon as lenient. The general intention of the Judge in allotting the sentences of the thirty-eight convicted men evidently was not to impose penalties so severe as to make them appear like martyrs; it should also be remembered that it is quite possible that some or all of the defendants may be prosecuted for the separate crimes involved in this general conspiracy presented before the Federal Court. It was noted with general approval that great pains were taken by Judge Anderson, in fixing the sentences, to make allowance for all extenuating circumstances, and in some cases the Judge's own questions at the time of fixing the sentence elicited facts that tended to lighten the guilt of some of the prisoners.

Thus ends the most extraordinary criminal plot prosecution this country has seen for many years.

Its lesson was drawn a year ago in the second of Mr. Roosevelt's editorials called "Murder is Murder:" "I believe with all my heart in the American workingman; I believe with all my heart in organized labor, for labor must be organized in order to protect and secure its rights; and therefore with all my strength I urge my fellow-citizens, the American men and women who earn their livelihood as wage-workers, to see that their

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leaders stand for honesty and obedience to the law, and to set their faces like flint against any effort to identify the cause of organized labor, directly or indirectly, with any movement which in any shape or way benefits by the commission of crimes of lawless and murderous violence."

What has happened since those words were written has only reinforced their significance and serious import.

PRESIDENT-ELECT WILSON'S CABINET-MAKING

WHAT THE PRESS IS SAYING ABOUT IT

"GOVERNOR Wilson indicates he will do much as he pleases in the matter of forming a Cabinet, but the correspondents have to have something to write about, so he need not become worried," remarks the Louisville "Post."

The correspondents have busied themselves chiefly with two names. The first is, of course, that of William Jennings Bryan. There are varying views of Mr. Bryan.

The first is expressed by many papers and is thus summed up by the New York "World" when it says: "We believe that his attitude toward foreign questions is the attitude of a vast majority of the American people, and we observe that the opposition to his appointment comes chiefly from people who want the State Department to remain a subsidiary Wall Street corporation." The Columbia, South Carolina, "State" adds: "Desirous of having Mr. Bryan Secretary of State, we are entirely satisfied with the situation. . . . Whether he is in or out of the Cabinet, Mr. Bryan will be a friend of the Wilson Administration."

With regard to Mr. Bryan's "Commoner" articles, the New York "Times" had objected that "if Mr. Bryan had been invited into the Cabinet, or if he still entertained the hope that he would be a member of the Cabinet, it is not conceivable that he would try to set the Democrats by the ears in both houses of Congress, substitute factional discord for union and harmony, and, to the extent of his influence, try to ruin the administration of which he was to be a part." To this the "State" replies as follows:

> The inference by the "Times" that if Editor Bryan were going into the President's Cabinet in March he would not, or should not, now express himself in his paper on an important public question because his expressions oppose the interests of several members of Congress, is a remarkably poor compliment to the conscience and courage of the journalistic profession. Gentlemen who expect "harmony" among Democrats in the Wilson administration through the operation of a gag policy are foredoomed to disappointment.

Another view of Mr. Bryan is expressed by the New York "Sun," which declares that he is essentially a domestic politician. It is true, it admits, that he made a tour of the world in 1905–6, but the paper asks if his friends find in his calculated views and leisurely observations the qualifications for the great office of Secretary of State? "It is more likely that the judicious would discover in them evidence of his unfitness."

Another objection made is that Mr. Bryan is known to have inspired, if he did not actually compose, the National platform on which he made his second campaign for President in 1900, and the platform contained this declaration: "We favor the immediate construction, ownership, and control of the Nicaragua Canal by the United States." The Hay-Pauncefote Treaty was condemned "as a surrender of American rights and interests not to be tolerated by the American people." "Naturally," says the "Sun," "Mr. Bryan has never been interested in the construction of the Panama Canal."

Another plank in Mr. Bryan's platform was as follows: "We favor a continuance and strict enforcement of the Chinese exclusion law and its application to the same classes of all Asiatic races."

Another plank viewed "with indignation the purpose of England to overwhelm with force the South African republics," and protested "against the Republican departure which has involved us in so-called world politics, including the diplomacy of Europe and the intrigue and land-grabbing of Asia; that we especially condemn the ill-concealed Republican alliance with England, which must mean discrimination against other friendly

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nations, and which has already stifled the Nation's voice while liberty is being strangled in Africa."

Finally, "we oppose militarism," said the platform, and the employment of volunteer organizations in the Philippines was denounced as "a subversion of ancient and fixed principles of a free people." It will be remembered, the "Sun" reminds us, that the "paramount issue" of Mr. Bryan's campaign was the granting of independence to the Philippines, but with "protection from outside interference, such as has been given to the republics of Central and South America."

It is fair, the "Sun" adds, to test Mr. Bryan's fitness for the office of Secretary of State by the declarations of the platform which has always been intimately associated with his personality. "Who can read it and not shudder at the thought of intrusting him with the management of the foreign relations of the Government"?

"Whether Mr. Bryan is qualified to be Secretary of State can best be determined by comparing him with the men who have held that office during the last fifty years," says the New York "World"—"Blaine, Bayard, Frelinghuysen, Blaine again, Evarts, Fish, Washburne, and Seward. Mr. Bryan need not feel much embarrassed in such company, nor would any of that company feel embarrassed to know that Mr. Bryan was numbered among his successors." The paper omits the names of John Hay and Elihu Root from this sentence. The New York "Sun" thus comments:

If Mr. Wilson wants Mr. Bryan in his Cabinet, the Treasury is the place for that genius of ignorance and disaster. Put him in a field where his reputation was made. Great as is our admiration of Mr. Bryan's sciolism, we can't believe that he is really as incompetent for Secretary of State as for Secretary of the Treasury; and save as a reward for incompetence—and malice—what excuse could there be for putting a hollow rhetorician in the Cabinet?

But the sharpest criticism comes from a Democratic paper, the New York "American." "It is explained with a positiveness of statement which suggests authority," says this journal, "that Mr. Bryan has been offered and declined the portfolio of State in the Wilson Cabinet; that he is not willing to put himself under obligations to President Wilson; that he believes Wilson to be a theorist, inimical to the politicians and therefore not likely to be a success as President; that he prefers to hold himself rather as a critic, friendly to the Wilson régime if it suits him, but critical—in the same beautiful way, perhaps, that he was critical to Champ Clark and Oscar Underwood in Congress." The paper adds:

President-elect Wilson may as well realize now as later that Mr. William J. Bryan will be an open, or a none the less active if a secret, candidate to succeed him in 1916. President-elect Wilson may as well understand now as later that Mr. Bryan and his "Commoner" and his never-silent tongue will not fail to seek the opportunity to assail him just as they assailed and sought to destroy nearly every candidate named for the last Convention in advance—as they did Underwood and Clark and Harmon and the rest.

The same dagger with which Bryan slew his friend Clark he has reserved for Wilson when it shall please the Bryan ambition to demand his death.

Of course Mr. Bryan will never be President.

"Three times and out" is the soul of the National game.

But Mr. Bryan will never cease to try to be President.

And to criticise and depreciate every other Democrat that would like to be President.

The second name most prominently mentioned with regard to President-elect Wilson's Cabinet-making is that of James Jerome Hill, the creator of great railways and the empire-builder of the Northwest. He is being "boomed" for the Secretaryship of Agriculture. Of late years, as Mr. Hill has become more disengaged from his railway-building projects, he has given his mind, as the New York "Times" points out, chiefly to the problems of making two bushels of grain grow where but one grew before. "Manifestly, if he should go into the Cabinet . . . on the platform of reducing the cost of living by this means, and should make good, the coming Democratic Administration would be set down as one of the greatest." According to the "Times" Mr. Hill would then deserve more of renown than do all the politicians. In the same spirit the Boston "Journal" says that Mr. Hill has proved himself to have "more brains and perseverance in agricultural leadership in the Northwest than two-thirds of that section put together," and adds that "for over twenty years Mr. Hill has been showing our farmers where their great chance lay." The paper thus replies to critics who have been saying that the interest of Mr. Hill's pocketbook in all his agricultural efforts was very evident:

Mr. Hill has not been without a personal interest in this endeavor, for upon the size and prosperity of the grain crop in the Northwest have rested in a large degree the earnings and the dividends of the great transportation sys-

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tem which he had built up. But Mr. Hill's preaching and practice alike have been of benefit to the whole country. He would make an ideal Secretary of Agriculture, and it is no surprise to find the Northwest rising up solidly together to urge him upon Governor Wilson. . . . The opportunity to get a man of Hill's size, intense interest and capacity for administration in the Cabinet does not come often. We believe, if Wilson grasps it, he will find the choice one of his great successes.

We learn of Mr. Hill's latest activity from the Waterbury "American." He is now planning, so this paper informs us, "through a union of two banks in St. Paul which he controls, to lend money to farmers at a low rate of interest. This would follow the plan propounded by President Taft for establishing rural banks for the special benefit of farmers." The "American," however, calls attention to one possible danger in Mr. Hill's appointment. Admitting that Mr. Hill is "one of the few ablest men in the United States," that "as a practical and far-seeing man of business no one is his superior," that "he knows all there is to be known about scientific farming," it offers this objection:

But Mr. Hill is a financier and a big financier, a representative of big business, as well as a farmer. He is close to Pierpont Morgan. He is a man of dominating personality. He would be the master in almost any Cabinet any President could select. Would it be wise politically, considering Woodrow Wilson's avowed attitude toward big business, to put a representative of big business, of the Money Trust, if one wishes to call it so, into his Cabinet in the guise of a farmer, no matter how advantageous to the country would be the selection from the standpoint simply of the Department of Agriculture? This is the consideration which will give Woodrow Wilson pause.

With regard to the other Cabinet offices, the Secretaryship of the Interior is the most discussed. Of the candidates for that office the name of Governor Edwin L. Norris, of Montana, has been frequently mentioned. During his four years of office Governor Norris has devoted much time to the consideration of the problems of internal development with which his own State and those of the West are confronted. He has worked out several schemes for the development of natural resources. He is a familiar figure at conferences where these matters are discussed. Particularly at the recent Governors' Conferences he made addresses on the subjects of irrigation and the improvement of inland waterways.

Politically, Governor Norris is supposed to be one of the "original Wilson men" of the Northwest. Instructed, as a delegate to the Baltimore Convention, to vote for Speaker Clark on the first ballot, he and Senator Myers, of Montana, were the first, after the "break" of the Nebraska delegation, to "break" for Governor Wilson.

The newspapers, however, have not commented much editorially on Governor Norris's chances of appointment. Nor has there been much comment on the possibility that, should the President-elect retain a member of the present Cabinet, that member might be the present Secretary of the Interior, the Hon. Walter L. Fisher, of Chicago. While Governor Norris would represent the Northwest, Mr. Fisher would represent the Central West. According to a Washington despatch to the Chicago "News," Mr. Fisher's reappointment is urged by Mr. Charles R. Crane, of Chicago, and by other Republicans who assisted in Mr. Wilson's election. The "News" points out that Mr. Fisher took practically no part in the campaign for President Taft's re-election, and has been regarded as a non-partisan in politics. A more important consideration is the fact, which the "News" also states, that Mr. Fisher has outlined and is carrying out certain policies with regard to the conservation and general administration of the public lands, particularly in Alaska, which might suffer if intrusted to other hands.

Thus the public's principal interest in the President-elect's Cabinet appointments is, if we are to believe such statements as those in the Chicago "News" and in many other papers, not so much a personal interest as a desire to see certain policies carried out. In Mr. Fisher's case, for instance, the public would, according to the "News," feel sure of the continuation of the present struggle for Federal regulation and conservation of our National resources. The same would be true of the appointment of Mr. Hill as Secretary of Agriculture, if we are to credit the many papers which urge his inclusion in the new Cabinet.

The next office most talked about is that of the Attorney-General. For this the names oftenest mentioned seem to be those of Mr. Louis D. Brandeis, the well-known lawyer, publicist, and sociological worker of Boston; Congressman A. Mitchell Palmer, Governor Wilson's strenuous Pennsylvania supporter; and Mr. Frederick W. Lehmann, of St. Louis, who, though a Democrat, was appointed by President Taft as Solicitor-General, an office which he filled with decided distinction.

An amusing sidelight was thrown the other

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day on another Cabinet office, when, according to the New York "Sun," the President-elect was asked whether he had received any letters favoring the appointment of a woman to the Cabinet. Governor Wilson replied, as reported, "I think I have received only two such letters. They urged the naming of a woman in a general way—and, come to think of it, one of them recommended a particular woman."

"For what office?"

"For Secretary of War—but I ought to add that she was recommended in the interest of peace."

AN UNSHRINKABLE DOLLAR

PROFESSOR FISHER'S REMEDY FOR THE INCREASING COST OF LIVING

A GLANCE at the accompanying diagram, prepared by Professor Irving Fisher, of the Department of Political Economy in Yale University, shows that the prices of necessities and staple commodities have increased fifty per cent in fifteen years. Professor Fisher is not only a political economist but a mathematician of the first rank, having been in the Department of Mathematics at Yale before entering that of Political Economy. His conclusions may therefore be received, not merely as the hypothesis of an economist, but as the result of scientific and careful mathematical calculation. Professor Fisher believes that he has a practical remedy for the steady and inexorable rise of prices, popularly called the high cost of living. If so, his proposal ought to have universal and eager consideration.

At the recent meeting of the American Economic Association, held in Boston, Professor Fisher described his remedy and its operation in an address the gist of which is presented in the following article, partly in his words and partly in our own.

The present high cost of living is due to various factors, among which may be named the trusts; the tariff; the introduction throughout the world of better standards of food, sanitation, and clothing; the growing demand for luxuries, and—in this country at least—an increase in the spirit of extravagance and of wastefulness. Some of these causes can be removed by legislation, some of them by education. All of them, however, in Professor Fisher's judgment, are insignificant as causes of increasing prices or of increasing cost of living compared with the cause which is found in the enormous increase in the gold supply of the world. This increase in the gold supply has made the purchasing power of the dollar grow less as the value of the gold in the dollars of the United States has grown less. The rarity of any desirable article increases its value in terms of money. In the same way the rarity of gold increases its value in terms of other commodities. To put it roughly, when eggs rise in price from twenty-five cents a dozen to fifty cents a dozen, it is because the possessor of the eggs would rather have two dozen eggs than take less than the gold in a dollar for them. When they go down to twenty-five cents a dozen again, it is because the possessor of the eggs would rather have the gold in a dollar than four dozen eggs.

Money performs two profoundly important functions in the complex society of modern civilization. It serves as a token of exchange and as a measure of value. Turgot, the great Finance Minister of France in the middle of the eighteenth century, was one of the first political economists to draw a clear distinction between these two functions of money. Léon Say, in his essay on Turgot, reports the French Minister's theory of money in the following passage:

> Before gold and silver had become the pledge representing every kind of wealth, exchanges, according to Turgot, were made in kind. Measures of wheat were given in exchange for measures of wine. The competition between those who had more or less need of a given commodity determined the current value of each commodity relatively to all the rest. Any commodity could thus become the equivalent of any other, and could be used as a common measure for comparing other commodities. A given quantity of wheat worth eighteen pints of wine would likewise buy a sheep, or a piece of tanned leather, or a certain quantity of iron; thus all these things had in trade the same value. But not all pints of wine are of the same value; and if eighteen pints of Anjou wine will buy a sheep, eighteen pints of Cape wine will

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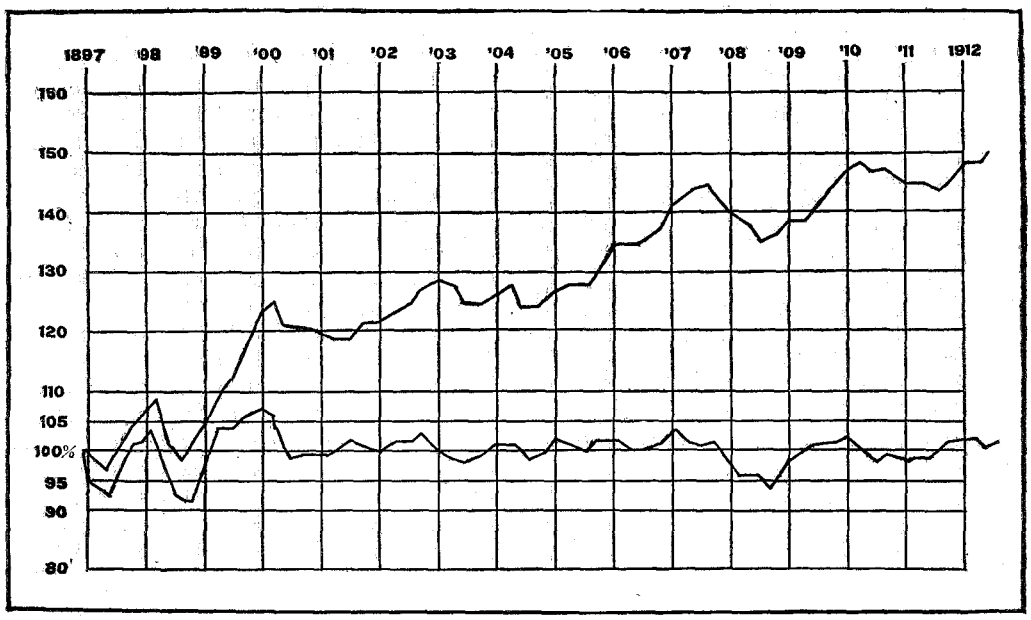

A RECORD OF THE HIGH COST OF LIVING

The upper irregular line shows the steady increase of prices in the fifteen years since 1897; the lower irregular line shows what would probably have been the course of prices with a dollar based on a scientific "index number"

buy several sheep. In order to avoid the confusion resulting from the application of the same term to things of variable qualities, it was found necessary to choose as a measure of the value of other commodities a commodity always identical, easy to transport, and capable of being preserved without alteration.

Gold was believed to be such a commodity, and for a long time it served its purpose admirably because the quantity of gold in the world increased very slowly and imperceptibly. It therefore formed a practically unvarying standard of measure. The discovery of gold in California and in Australasia, and the improved methods of mining gold everywhere, have enormously increased the quantity of gold in the world. It is no longer a practically fixed measure of commodity prices, but a very unstable one.

What is the practical effect of this instability of the value of gold was well expressed by Professor Fisher in his address in the following words:

A laboring man who put $100 in a savings bank fifteen years ago and now withdraws his $150 fondly imagines that he has fifty per cent more than he put in, but when he comes to spend it he finds that his whole $150 will buy no more than his original $100 would have bought in 1896. In other words, the depreciation of gold has tricked him out of all his interest. Naturally he is discontented and wants to attack something. He does not much care what. He is one of the millions of victims of a shrinking dollar, just as twenty years ago his father may have been one of the millions of victims then suffering from an appreciating dollar.

Instead of a standard which first benefits the creditor at the expense of the debtor, and then benefits the debtor at the expense of the creditor, let us have a system which gives a square deal to all.

We have standardized every other unit in commerce except the most important and universal unit of all, the unit of purchasing power. What business man would consent for a moment to make a contract in terms of yards of cloth or tons of coal, and leave the size of the yard or the ton to chance? Once the yard was the girth of a man. In order to make it constant we have standardized it. We have even standardized our new units of electricity, the ohm, the kilowatt, the ampere, and the volt, but the dollar is still left to the chances of gold-mining.

An inch or a meter is not a natural standard of measure. They are both artificial, scientific, and government-made standards. For example, at Washington in the Bureau of Standards there is an actual and scientific measure of a meter. It is made of platinum, and is most religiously taken care of—protected from heat and cold and other climatic changes. A similar standard is carefully preserved by the English in the Tower of London and by the French in Paris. Professor Fisher proposes that the leading civilized governments of the world shall unite in making a universal and scientific standard of money. How can such a scientific standard be created? Professor Fisher's answer is:

By means of statistics called "index numbers

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of prices." Such statistics are to-day published by the London "Economist," the United States Bureau of Labor, the Canadian Department of Labor, and several commercial agencies such as Bradstreet's. The index number of the Bureau of Labor is based on the wholesale prices of 257 commodities, and shows from year to year the extent to which prices on the whole advance or fall. . . . The index number shows the average amount for all the 257. . . . A statistical bureau, as for instance the present Bureau of Labor or an International Statistical Office, would compile and publish these statistics periodically and the actual prices on which they were based. If at any time the official index number showed that the price level had risen one per cent, this would be the signal of increase of one per cent in the virtual dollar.

But, it will be asked, what does Professor Fisher mean by the phrase "virtual dollar"? We again answer this question in his own words:

"Briefly stated, the plan is virtually to *increase the weight of the gold dollar.* . . . The aim is to compensate for losses in the purchasing power of gold by virtually putting more gold into each dollar. As fast as each grain of gold loses in purchasing power, the loss is offset by adding the necessary number of grains of gold to the dollar.

"We so seldom see gold coin that we are apt to forget that the ultimate unit of money in the United States is a certain weight of gold. Many people are under the impression that a dollar is something created by government fiat. It is, as a matter of fact, a unit of merchandise. Underlying every banknote, greenback, or other form of money which we handle daily is a gold dollar with which this other money is interconvertible. This dollar is at present 25.8 grains of gold, nine-tenths fine.

"The fact that every dollar, whether coin or paper, is practically interconvertible with 25.8 grains of gold bullion—mere merchandise—fixes the value or purchasing power of the dollar. Every dollar must be worth what 25.8 grains of gold bullion is worth—no more and no less.

"In Mexico the weight of the gold dollar is about half that of the American dollar, and consequently it takes about two Mexican dollars to buy one American dollar, and the purchasing power of the Mexican dollar is about half of that of the American dollar. That is, prices in Mexico, in terms of Mexican dollars, are about double what they would be if measured in American dollars. Some of the South American dollars are much smaller in gold equivalent than Mexican dollars, and therefore prices there are still higher. A dinner in some places in South America costs several thousand dollars!

"Both on the grounds of theory and facts we may accept as sound the principle that the lighter the gold dollar the less its purchasing power and the more magnified the scale of prices. Reversing this, we may say that to increase the weight of the South American and Mexican dollars would increase their purchasing power and cause a shrinkage in the scale of prices.

"What is true for South America and Mexico is true for the United States. An increase in the weight of the dollar would tend to increase the purchasing power of the dollar and to reduce the scale of prices. Evidently if we can find some way to increase the weight of the dollar just fast enough to compensate for the loss in the purchasing power of each grain of gold, we shall have a fully 'compensated dollar,' that is, a dollar which has constantly restored to it any purchasing power it may lose by gold depreciation. This would be 'an unshrinkable dollar.' We now have a dollar of fixed weight (25.8 grains) but varying purchasing power. Under the plan proposed, we should have a dollar of fixed purchasing power but varying weight.

"A few additional details essential to the working of the plan may now be briefly mentioned. The reader is still waiting to see how actual gold coin could be used in such a system. To be continually recoining the gold in circulation would, of course, be quite impracticable. But this would be unnecessary. Existing gold coin would remain unchanged at 25.8 grains per dollar, and new gold coins would be given the same weight. Gold coins would simply become what the silver dollar now is, token coins. Or, better, they would be, like the gold certificates, mere warehouse receipts, or, as it were, 'brass checks' for gold bullion on deposit in the Treasury. Otherwise expressed, *gold coin would be merely gold certificates printed on gold instead of on paper.* They would be used exactly as gold certificates are used—namely, issuable to the gold miner in return for his bullion, and redeemable for those who wished bullion for export or in the arts.

"The excess of bullion over the weight of the coined dollar itself would be analogous to what has generally been called 'seigniorage;' so that, in a sense, the plan may be described as a plan to restore the ancient custom of seigniorage on gold coin."

We do not here undertake to enter into

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details, fully treated by Professor Fisher, as to how this system of increasing or decreasing the amount of gold bullion in the Government treasury by means of "seigniorage" may be adopted without appreciably changing the laws or practice regarding the circulation of money. It is sufficient to say that Professor Fisher has worked out all these details and that his plan has the approval and the indorsement of a large body of economists, publicists, and financial experts both in this country and in Europe.

Our chief purpose in bringing the plan to the attention of our readers is to impress upon them the thought that the problem dealt with by Professor Fisher is primarily a human problem, that the measure we use in money transactions to-day is hardly more scientific (in the light of modern civilization) than wampum was in the early days of the Indian and pioneer trader, and that scientists like Professor Fisher ought to have public support and sympathy in their endeavors to apply principles of science to the money question.

There is now before Congress a bill, known as the Crawford-Sulzer Bill, for the establishment of an International Conference on the High Cost of Living. This bill ought to be passed, and one of the important duties of the International Conference should be the studious consideration of Professor Fisher's plan for creating "an unshrinkable dollar."

ARBITRATION AND THE PANAMA CANAL

I—A NAVAL OFFICER'S VIEW

IN your issue of December 7, 1912, an editorial appears under the heading of "Arbitration and the Panama Canal," which seems so foreign to the usual ethical character of The Outlook's writings that I, as a subscriber, must take exceptions to the views expressed therein.

You state that Senator Root takes the ground that, under the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, the United States agreed to treat the vessels of all nations, including our own vessels, on equal terms in the matter of Canal tolls, but that "in our judgment there is some ground for asking whether, in framing the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, the United States deliberately intended to waive in this wholesale fashion her authority to administer the Canal for her own necessary protection, with due regard to the just rights of the rest of the world." Every one will say no to this general proposition, but the question is on the words "just rights."

The *intent* of a law is the spirit in which it was established; and could there be any one in the country, save the President of the United States at the time the treaty was made, who is so competent to define this characteristic of the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty as the pre-eminently able jurist who, as Secretary of War when the treaty was being negotiated, was in charge of the colonial affairs of the Government, and must have been in close touch and in close accord with the great statesman who signed it, Mr. John Hay, Secretary of State?

But, aside from Senator Root's official word for its meaning, I should like to present some facts as they appear to me. There are three factors in the problem which seem to point to the conclusion that the United States did intend "to treat the vessels of *all* nations, including her own vessels, on equal terms in the matter of Canal tolls."

Factor No. 1: Article VIII of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty reads as follows: "The Governments of the United States and Great Britain having not only desired, in entering into this convention, to accomplish a particular object, but also to establish a great principle, they hereby agree to extend their protection, by treaty stipulations, to any other practicable communications, whether by canal or railway, across the Isthmus which connects North and South America, and especially to the interoceanic communications, should the same prove to be practicable, whether by canal or railway, which are now proposed to be established by way of Tehuantepec or Panama. In granting, however, their joint protection to any such canals or railways as are by this article specified, it is always understood by the United States and Great Britain that the parties constructing or owning the same shall impose no other charges or conditions of traffic thereupon than the aforesaid Governments shall approve

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as just and equitable; and that the same canal or railways, being open to the citizens and subjects of the United States and Great Britain on equal terms, shall be open on like terms to the citizens and subjects of every other state which is willing to grant thereto such protection as the United States and Great Britain are willing to afford."

We have ex-Secretary Hay's testimony that the rules of the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty were adopted "as a consideration for getting rid of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty." It is therefore an amendment or substitute for the original document.

Factor No 2: By Article III of the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty the United States agrees, again, to conform to this "general principle" in these words: "The Canal shall be free and open to the vessels of commerce and of war of all nations observing these Rules, on terms of entire equality, so that there shall be no discrimination against any such nation, or its citizens or subjects, in respect of the conditions or charges of traffic, or otherwise. Such conditions and charges of traffic shall be just and equitable."

Factor No. 3: Again, by Article XVIII of the convention between the United States and the Republic of Panama, of February 26, 1904, the United States adopts the same fundamental principle stated thus: "The Canal, when constructed, and the entrances thereto, shall be neutral in perpetuity, and shall be opened upon the terms provided for by Section 1 of Article III of, and in conformity with, all the stipulations of the treaty entered into by the Governments of the United States and Great Britain on November 18, 1901."

With each of these treaties worded in practically the same way to accomplish a given purpose, is it possible that there can be any doubt of the *intent* of the parties who made them, or the members of the United States Senate who confirmed their form and made them a part of the law of the land? Could the able statesmen who were sponsors for the good faith of the Government, in undertaking a solemn obligation with the Government of Great Britain, and incidentally with all the rest of the nations of the world, have held back a mental reservation that the word *all* should not include the United States? I for one will not believe it.

"The Outlook does not believe that the exemption of the American coastwise vessels —that is to say, vessels engaged solely in the transportation of American merchandise from one recognized United States port to another United States port—is in any sense of the word a discrimination against foreign nations." Let me ask: If a vessel engaged in carrying merchandise, say, from Eastport, Maine, to Port Townsend, Washington (which may perhaps have come from Canada without having to pay import duties), is given free passage between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, is she on terms of "entire equality" with a British vessel engaged in similar traffic between St. John, New Brunswick, and the port of Victoria in British Columbia—a voyage of identically the same length—if that vessel is forced to pay a toll of from 75 cents to $1.25 per ton for the freight she carries? Is this not a case of discrimination, and does it not suggest that there is something "in the Panama Act of the nature of a loophole or evasion which permits, by hook or by crook, American *foreign* commerce to take advantage of this provision for its *domestic* commerce? And if this be the case, should not "the Panama Act be at once amended to correct a secret abuse of this kind"?

As I understand, The Outlook is in agreement with the enlightened thought of the land that "the claim of right" made by Great Britain against the United States under the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty should "be submitted to the Permanent Court of Arbitration established at The Hague by the Convention of October 18, 1907, or to some other arbitral tribunal as shall (may) be decided upon," but questions "the practicability of securing impartial arbitrators." Whether this be so or not, are we not morally obligated to try the case (if the law stands) and submit to the judgment of the Court?

And if, as you state, "the interests of all the great maritime powers of the world are involved," it would seem imperative to do so.

I do not agree with you that "Switzerland is perhaps the only country capable of furnishing international jurists of high standing who would probably be free from all pressure of selfish public opinion when acting as judges of the case." I should like to suggest that Turkey or Bulgaria, the former possessing a number of brilliant jurists who have learned, during the past one hundred years, international jurisprudence in the hard school of necessity to save their country from cormorants who were bent on despoiling her of territory, while the latter country contains many eminent men, graduates of our Ameri-

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can colleges in the Near East, who have had much succcessful experience in governmental administration, might answer the purpose.

No; let us arbitrate the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty if we must, but preferably let us do what England once did for us when the United States protested against Canadian canal tolls and that country caused the decree of the Canadian Government to be revoked, and acknowledge that a mistake has been made.

It is better to be right than to have the Panama Canal. C. M. CHESTER,
Rear-Admiral United States Navy.
Washington, D. C.

II—A LAWYER'S VIEW

In a recent number of The Outlook the question is asked, "What nation, under these circumstances, would Sir Edward Grey propose as arbitrator?" The answer is, No nation, but the permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague. Under the convention at The Hague, which was ratified by the United States Senate February 5, 1900, and proclaimed by President Roosevelt in 1901 and thus became a part of the supreme law of the land, a court was created to which all questions arising between the contracting parties as to the interpretation of treaties should be referred. Under this convention, each party to it was to select four jurists "of known competency in questions of international law, of the highest moral reputation." Each of these has made its nomination; the judges are jurists of eminent experience and impartiality. In each particular case five judges to hear it are selected from them. It is one of the most honorable achievements of Theodore Roosevelt that the first controversy ever submitted to this tribunal—that between the United States and Mexico, called the Pious Fund case—was submitted by his direction. Numerous controversies have since been submitted to it, and have been decided with absolute impartiality; the litigants have obeyed every award. The confidence thus produced in this Court led the United States and Great Britain to make a treaty April 4, 1908, which has since been ratified by the Senate. This expressly provides: "Differences which may arise of a legal nature or relating to the interpretation of treaties existing between the two contracting parties which it may not have been possible to settle by diplomacy shall be referred to the permanent Court of Arbitration established at The Hague by the Convention of July, 1899." This treaty was ratified by the Senate and is now a part of the supreme law of the land.

The present controversy between the United States and Great Britain relates to the interpretation of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty of 1850 and of the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty of 1901. It is obvious, therefore, that we have an express agreement that the United States should submit this question to the Hague Tribunal. There are many nations who were parties to this great convention who either have no interest or a very trivial interest in the question under consideration. For example, Holland, Belgium, Austria, Brazil, have practically no interest whatever in the coastwise trade of the United States. But if they had, it should be remembered that the judges whom they have appointed to sit in this Court were appointed long before the controversy arose. The judges themselves have no interest whatever in the controversy, and it is by the judges and not by the nations that the decision is to be made.

When we remember that the United States ever since it was a nation has insisted upon arbitration as the only right way to settle international controversies, and especially insisted in 1895 that Great Britain should settle the controversy between it and Venezuela by arbitration, it will appear that a refusal now to submit this particular question arising upon the interpretation of the treaties between Great Britain and the United States would be a gross breach of faith, which cannot possibly be imputed either to the President or to the Senate.

Mr. Bradley Gilman in The Outlook appears to suppose that the Hague Tribunal is not always ready to hear cases. Permit me to point out that this is quite a mistake. Under the Hague Convention the Bureau of this Court is always open; its judges are always ready to be summoned. The Court has not business enough to keep it in actual session all the time, but there is no court in the world that is in session all the time. Probably the time will come when

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this Court will have more frequent sessions. Until that time does come it seems to me much better that the judges of it should be engaged in their respective professions than that they should be sitting idly at The Hague. For example, Sir Edward Fry, a great English judge, was a member of the Hague tribunal which heard that Pious Fund case. It was much more in the interest of justice that he should be sitting in the English Supreme Court when his services were not required at The Hague, than that he should be required to take up his residence there, with nothing to occupy him during more than half the year.

New York City. EVERETT P. WEEELER.

We are glad to print these two letters. They present with brevity and authority the arguments of those who believe in arbitration for the settlement of the issue raised by the Government of Great Britain regarding the exemption from Panama Canal tolls of the coastwise shipping of this country. Mr. Wheeler is a distinguished member of the Bar of the city of New York, who has made a special study of international law. Rear-Admiral Chester has had a long and honorable career in the United States navy, and is therefore familiar not only with international relationships but with both the patriotic and practical requirements of National defense. We do not attempt to reply to these two letters in detail, but shall simply briefly restate our own position, as follows:

If the toll controversy is arbitrated, it will be under the General Arbitration Treaty of 1908. Article I of that treaty provides that no questions are subject to arbitration that affect the vital interests of either party to the treaty. We believe that all questions concerning our coastwise shipping are domestic questions of vital interest.

Sir Edward Grey's sole argument against the contention that the exemption of coastwise shipping is a domestic question, is that such exemption will thrust upon foreign nations an unfair proportion of the cost of maintaining the Canal. Our reply to this is that the toll rates as now fixed are so low that the exemption of American coastwise ships cannot for many years to come impose upon the British or any other foreign nation its purely mathematical or commercial share of the expense.

England's ostensible ground of complaint is that she is going to be forced to pay too much for the maintenance of the Canal; her real ground of complaint is, as pointed out by Admiral Chester, that Canada believes that some of her commerce will be diverted to the toll-free coasting vessel of the United States. By the same force of reason England would be justified—at least on grounds of equity—in asking us to arbitrate a question as to whether Federal legislation benefiting the Northern Pacific Railroad of the United States injuriously affected the traffic of the Canadian Pacific in Canada.

Sir Edward Grey proposes, as a way out of the difficulty, that we impose tolls on American coastwise vessels and pay them back to the vessels in the form of subsidies. This is a method of "whipping the devil round the stump" which we think is fraught with a great deal more of intellectual and political danger to both countries than the declination to arbitrate this particular question. Nor would it affect the competitive advantage of the United States over Canada.

Nevertheless, we believe that the exemption of coastwise vessels, like the prohibition of entrance to the Canal by railway-owned vessels, was prompted by a desire of Congress to protect the American people against real or supposed evils of railway monopoly. We have already in these pages expressed the strong feeling that the way to regulate the railways is to do it directly and not by the subterfuge of employing the Panama Canal as a means of punishment. For that reason we hope that Congress will repeal that section of the bill that deals with railway-owned steamships, and will permit any steamship owner, corporate or individual, to pass through the Canal on the payment of the required dues. It may, by the same process of reasoning, be said that the treatment of coastwise vessels in Canal matters should be entirely distinct from the treatment of railways, and that on this ground the toll exemption clause should be repealed. At all events, we believe that such repeal would be more equitable, more expedient, and more in accordance with the inalienable right of the United States to enact purely domestic legislation without foreign intervention, than would be the yielding to Great Britain's urgency for arbitration, however courteous that urgency may be and however generous yielding would seem either to ourselves or to the people of England.—THE EDITORS.

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WHO BROKE THE WINDOW?

BEGINNING A SERIES OF ARTICLES AND STORIES ABOUT CHILDREN WHICH WILL APPEAR IN THE OUTLOOK DURING 1913

"GOOD and Bad are two boys, each fourteen years of age. They attend the same school. One day Bad said to Good, 'I am going to throw a snow-ball through the window.' Good made no reply. Bad threw the snow-ball and broke the window, and Good saw him do it. The next morning at school the teacher asked the pupils singly and privately the questions, 'Do you know who broke the window?' and 'Who broke the window?'

"1. What should Good say when the teacher asked him, 'Do you know who broke the window?'

"2. What should Good say when she asked him, 'Who broke the window?'

"3. Should the teacher have asked the boy these questions?

"4. Should the teacher have the same right as the Court in compelling Good to tell?

"5. Modern American schools are rapidly adopting systematic instruction in ethics. In your opinion, should children throughout the public schools be *taught* that it is their duty to tell the truth about wrong-doing when questioned by a competent authority?"

These questions have been sent out in a printed circular by Mr. Harlan E. Hall, High School Principal in Mansfield, Ohio. The value of such questions as these lies not in the specific answers they may evoke, but in the thoughts they may stimulate. For that reason we submit them to our readers. Perhaps some teachers may find in them an occasion for re-examining certain matters they have taken for granted. Perhaps some parents may find in them a topic for discussion not only among themselves but with their children. Perhaps from these questions there may spring other questions to lead the discussion further afield. For example: Has a father or mother any more right to seek such information from a boy than a teacher has? Does the nature of the offense make any difference? Would there be, for instance, any difference in principle if the offense was not window-breaking, but the morally corrupting influence of an older boy over a younger one? If there is a distinction, should the boys be expected to see it, and taught to act accordingly? Or should it be left to the teacher to see the distinction and enforce it? There is no limit to the extent to which such a discussion may go. And its usefulness will not altogether depend on the success with which satisfactory answers to the specific questions are found. It will depend much more on the success with which those who discuss the questions attempt an understanding of one another's point of view and an understanding of what is education and of what is good conduct.

Most fathers, if asked, "Do you wish your boy to be a good boy?" would, we imagine, if they spoke frankly, reply rather hesitatingly, "Why, yes, I suppose so." At the same time, if they were asked, "Do you wish your boys to grow up to be good men?" they would reply emphatically, "Of course!" There is no suggestion of reproach in saying of a man that he is a good man. Somehow, on the other hand, there is just a suggestion of reproach in the term "a good boy." Conversely, no one with an unperverted conscience would care to have the reputation of being a bad man, while many a man, whom no one would think of calling bad, finds no cause for real shame and perhaps some little secret gratification in the fact that in former days he was considered somewhat of "a bad boy." In the case under consideration it is Bad that throws the snow-ball and breaks the window, and it is Good that does nothing. Of course Bad is bad—really bad; for that is one of the given factors in the problem; and Good is really good. On the face of it, however, there is nothing to show except in his name that there was anything really bad about the boy who threw the snow-ball. If it were not that we were told so, we might suppose that the boy broke the window, not because he was bad, but because he was boy; and that the other did not break the window, not because he was good, but because he was something less than boy. Of course

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school authorities cannot allow boys to break windows indiscriminately; but we fancy that most fathers, remembering their own boyhood, would have a furtive sympathy with the lad who tried his skill on that inviting pane and found it equal to the challenge. We are not condoning the practice of breaking windows by using them as targets. That practice is of course highly inconvenient and should be suppressed. The boy who indulges in it wantonly should be made to feel the displeasure of his elders, and to take upon his shoulders as large a share as possible of the inconvenience. All that we wish to point out is that inconvenience caused to adults should not be regarded as proof positive of badness in the boy who causes it. It too often is so regarded. That is because adult human creatures, being fallible, are apt to regard the comfort of the adult population as a criterion by which conduct is to be measured. Whatever interferes with that comfort is bad; lively boys are apt to interfere with that comfort, they unconsciously reason, therefore lively boys are apt to be bad. The balance is happily struck by the fact that the youthful human creature applies the same sort of standards, and declares that any adult who, by insisting on washed hands and faces, or some degree of quiet in the house, or promptness in going to school, interferes with the comfort and pleasure of the youthful population, is a "bad old thing." Of course if the standard is right in the one case it is right in the other. Unhappily, faces must be washed and windows must be protected against snow-balls. So that standard is plainly not a sound one. Yet if we were to examine the reputation for being good won by a boy, we should find, we think, as a rule, that it was based on the freedom of offense against the adult standard of comfort and convenience. And that is why most men with red blood in their veins are a little hesitant when they say that they want their boys to be good boys.

Let us assume, then, that Good, in the incident under consideration, is not what is ordinarily called "a good boy"—that is, a convenient boy for adults to have around—but such a boy as a boy of fourteen ought to be if he is going straight along the way toward being what we all like to think of as a good man. He has seen one of his schoolmates do something that is in defiance of the rules of the school and contrary to the public welfare; and he is asked by his teacher whether he knows who that schoolmate is. What answer does such a boy as he make?

This question of the teacher's is one that can be answered by a simple yes or no. It is conceivable that the boy could decline to answer; but unless the circumstances are such that an affirmative answer would necessarily implicate some other boy, there is no reason to suppose that he does not answer, "Yes, I do know."

The real crux of the matter comes with the teacher's next question, "Who broke the window?" To answer that question, the boy who knows the culprit must "tell on" a schoolfellow. Will the boy who is in fact the kind of boy whom we ought to honor reveal the fact about the wrong-doing? Is it right to expect him to be a witness against his mate?

Why should he not do so? Is he not expected to grow up to be a public-spirited citizen? Is he not in reality a citizen of his school community? Does he not owe a duty to that community in protecting property and maintaining order and obedience to authority? When a citizen of a state is called upon to give evidence, is he not expected to tell "the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth," even though his testimony may inculpate an acquaintance? Is not that man counted a good citizen who, when called upon by the constituted authorities to give information necessary for the enforcement of the law, gives that information even though it costs him friendships? The man who shields a murderer is not excused because he happens to be the murderer's friend. Can we, then, expect a boy who shields a schoolmate from discovery by the authoritative investigation of a teacher to become a good citizen? Should he not be told that it is his duty, at whatever cost to his own feelings, and even to his sense of fidelity to an associate, to assist the constituted authority in the effort to discover an offender and bring him to book?

The difference between the position of the boy in the school and the citizen in the state is radical. Whether the state is a republic, or a monarchy, or an oligarchy, the authority exercised over its members is the authority of the state—it is a group authority. In the case of the school, the authority exercised by the teacher is not a group authority at all. If the teacher is wise and is given sufficient freedom by superiors, that authority will be exercised with due regard to the views pre-

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vailing among the boys, but it does not emanate from them, and the boys know very well that it does not. When called upon to give an account of himself to his teacher, the boy is not in the position of a citizen summoned by the state. To insist that he shall act under those circumstances as a good citizen is expected to act will not help him to be a more wholesome member of the school; if it has any effect, it will only implant in his mind the view that the authority of the state is as extraneous to him as the authority of the school. To require of him an obedience to the authority of the teacher that involves a renouncing of his allegiance to the group of which he is a member, to subordinate his relations with his schoolmates to commands of the teacher, is not to prepare him for good citizenship, but to weaken those very ties which hold together the structure of society and render good citizenship possible.

John Bull was schoolmaster in Ireland for generations, and brought a great deal of trouble upon himself as well as upon his pupils by his failure to recognize this fact. It is to the credit of the Irish that they preserved for so long that sense of fidelity to the group which their schoolmaster did his best to disrupt, and that they have not become more deeply imbued with the conviction that to be "agin' the government" is the normal attitude of every good citizen. Fortunately, boys cannot be in school as long as the Irish have been John Bull's pupils, and so cannot learn all that might be taught them. If it were otherwise, they might in time learn what most normal boys, no matter what the provocation, refuse to learn, that it is more expedient to yield to the teacher's power than to stand by one's fellows and to do one's share in keeping the school solid.

That idea of group solidarity is more than an idea. It is an ideal. It is generally agreed that every individual repeats in his own life roughly the chief stages in the history of the race. As his body before birth passes through in terse form the various periods of biological evolution, so his mind, after birth, passes through the various periods of racial evolution. This process is sometimes called "recapitulation." It is not exact; it does not even approach exactness.

	BOY EPOCHS					RACE EPOCHS
NO.	STAGE OF BOY LIFE	AGE LIMITS	CHARACTERISTICS	WILL-PROGRESS	ALLEGIANCE	RACIAL PROTOTYPE
0	Infancy	Years 0—3	(Before Self-Consciousness)	(Self-Discovery)	(Blind)	Pre-Historic Period
1	Early Childhood—Later	3—6 7—11	The Self-Period The Clique Period	Self-Control	Father Chum	*Patriarchal* Period *Savage Kinship Clan*
2	Boyhood	10—14	The Gang Period	Comradeship	The Gang	The *Tribal* Period Limited Democracy to Monarchy 1-Council of Braves 2-Federated Tribes with Chieftain by Prowess
3	Early Adolescence	13—15 Grammar School Age	The Chivalry Period	Personal Loyalty (Obedience)	The Hero	The *Feudal* Period of the Absolute Monarchy
4	Middle Adolescence	14—18 High School Age	The Self-Assertive Period	Self-Reliance (Through Struggle)	The Ego	The *Revolutionary* Period of the Constitutional Monarchy
5	Late Adolescence	17—24 College Age	The Co-operative Period	Leadership (Resourcefulness)	The State	*The Republic:* Social-Democracy in a Self-Governing State

FROM "BOY LIFE AND SELF-GOVERNMENT," BY G. W. FISKE (ASSOCIATION PRESS)

NOTE.—It is necessary to make the age periods in the second column overlap to allow for wide differences in boy development.

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The environment in which a twentieth-century boy grows up to manhood is very different from that which has changed with the changing stages of the race's history, and consequently modifies the recapitulation very greatly. Nevertheless, if we want to understand children, we shall find one entrance into the realm in which they live if we follow as guides the brave, the chieftain, the hunter, the patriarch, the knight, the feudal lord. Professor George Walter Fiske, of Oberlin, has written a book entitled "Boy Life and Self-Government," published by the Association Press, which will serve as a sort of Baedeker to one who wishes to make a trip to the realms inhabited by these primitive peoples all about us—the boys of our own families and our own schools. Whoever makes the trip once will make it again. In that book there is printed a chart which we reproduce on the preceding page.

The reader will see that Professor Fiske places the boy of fourteen—the age of our two acquaintances of the snow-ball episode, Good and Bad—either in the Gang Period or the Chivalry Period, and his allegiance as due to the gang, the group to which he belongs, or to the impersonation of that group or the group idea in a hero. There, in a practical form, expressed in personal loyalty, is the fourteen-year-old boy's ideal. To induce a boy to tell on his fellows is to weaken this allegiance, and to weaken this allegiance is to attack his idealism.

But, it may be asked, suppose the boy ought not to be persuaded to give evidence against the snow-ball thrower, may he not be compelled? Do not the courts compel witnesses to testify against their will? May not the teacher have the same power? In other words, shall the teacher, while allowing the boy to retain his ideal, show disrespect to it?

The courts themselves do not do this. They recognize that there are some forms of allegiance superior to that which they demand for themselves—the allegiance of a lawyer to his client, the allegiance of a physician to his patient, the allegiance of a priest to the penitent, the allegiance of a wife to her husband. The great ideals of the race are not abandoned in the course of its progress; they are preserved and respected. The teacher should respect the ideals of the boys in the school; for they are acquiring the ideals of the race, and are the only ones who can pass those ideals on to future generations.

Suppose, however, that the offense is not window-breaking, or the infraction of some school rule, or the disregard of school discipline, but something affecting the moral character of the boys themselves. Suppose Bad is not only breaking windows but teaching the younger boys to be wantonly destructive, or is corrupting the minds of the younger boys with foul ideas. What then is Good's duty? What is the duty of the teacher?

There the situation is changed. Now the integrity of the gang itself is in peril. Now the ideal of the boys is under attack.

If Good is the boy we take him to be, he will consult with his fellows and see that the matter is made a common cause. If the teacher is on Good's level of spirited common sense, the boys will be all ready to make it a common cause. It is possible that this red-blooded fellow Good and his red-blooded mates will not have any occasion to bring the teacher in at all; but if they do, it will be because they wish to enlist Power, represented by the teacher, not against but on behalf of the Gang Ideal.

Here we leave Good and Bad for the present. We shall not attempt to answer the questions about them explicitly—at least not unless our readers indicate that they wish explicit answers. Then we may attempt such answers—on one condition: that those who ask for our answers shall indicate their own.

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HISTORY AS LITERATURE

BY THEODORE ROOSEVELT

An important feature of the meeting of the American Historical Association held in Boston during the last week of the old year was the address on the subject of "History as Literature" delivered by Mr. Roosevelt, as President of the Association, in Symphony Hall on the evening of December 27. The Boston papers report that the audience which heard the address was notable both for its size and character; that the speaker was listened to with peculiar interest; and that after the address was concluded he became the center of a cordial personal reception.

Mr. Roosevelt's address of course was wholly without any allusion to political questions, and was, as the title indicates, a discussion of the relative value of history when written as a scientific compilation of statistics and when written by a creator of literature inspired by human sympathy and imagination. The address, we regret to say, is too long to be reprinted in full, but we here give our readers some detached passages from the address that convey both the feeling and the arguments which Mr. Roosevelt expounded in support of his belief that history is literature rather than scientific compilation.—THE EDITORS.

THE HISTORICAL SPECIALIST

THERE has been much discussion as to whether history should not henceforth be treated as a branch of science rather than of literature. As with most such discussions, much of the matter in dispute has referred merely to terminology. Moreover, as regards part of the discussion, the minds of the contestants have not met, the propositions advanced by the two sides being neither mutually incompatible nor mutually relevant. There is, however, a real basis for conflict, in so far as science claims exclusive possession of the field. There was a time—we see it in the marvelous dawn of Hellenic life—when history was distinguished neither from poetry, from mythology, nor from the first dim beginnings of science. There was a more recent time, at the opening of Rome's brief period of literary splendor, when poetry was accepted by a great scientific philosopher as the appropriate vehicle for teaching the lessons of science and philosophy. There was a more recent time still—the time of Holland's leadership in arms and arts—when one of the two or three greatest world painters put his genius at the service of anatomists. In each case the steady growth of specialization has rendered such combination now impossible. . . .

As regards philosophy, as distinguished from material science and from history, the specialization has been incomplete. Poetry is still used as a vehicle for the teaching of philosophy. Goethe was as profound a thinker as Kant. He has influenced the thought of mankind far more deeply than Kant because he was also a great poet. Robert Browning was a real philosopher, and his writings have had a hundred-fold the circulation and the effect of those of any similar philosopher who wrote in prose, just because, and only because, what he wrote was not merely philosophy but literature. The form in which he wrote challenged attention and provoked admiration. That part of his work which some of us—which I myself, for instance—most care for is merely poetry. But in that part of his work which has exercised most attraction and has given him the widest reputation, the poetry, the form of expression, bears to the thought expressed much the same relation that the expression of Lucretius bears to the thought of Lucretius. As regards this, the great mass of his product, he is primarily a philosopher, whose writings surpass in value those of other similar philosophers precisely because they are not only philosophy but literature. In other words, Browning the philosopher is read by countless thousands to whom otherwise philosophy would be a sealed book, for exactly the same reason that Macaulay the historian is read by countless thousands to whom otherwise history would be a sealed book; because both Browning's works and Macaulay's works are material additions to the great sum of English literature. Philosophy is a science just as history is a science. There is need in one case as in the other for vivid and powerful presentation of scientific matter in literary form.

This does not mean that there is the like need in the two cases. History can never be truthfully presented if the presentation is purely emotional. It can never be truthfully or usefully presented unless profound

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research, patient, laborious, painstaking, has preceded the presentation. No amount of self-communion and of pondering on the soul of mankind, no gorgeousness of literary imagery, can take the place of cool, serious, widely extended study. The vision of the great historian must be both wide and lofty. But it must be sane, clear, and based on full knowledge of the facts and of their interrelations. Otherwise we get merely a splendid bit of serious romance-writing, like Carlyle's "French Revolution." Many hard-working students, alive to the deficiencies of this kind of romance-writing, have grown to distrust, not only all historical writing that is romantic, but all historical writing that is vivid. They feel that complete truthfulness must never be sacrificed to color. In this they are right. They also feel that complete truthfulness is incompatible with color. In this they are wrong. The immense importance of full knowledge of a mass of dry facts and gray details has so impressed them as to make them feel that the dryness and the grayness are in themselves meritorious.

These students have rendered invaluable service to history. They are right in many of their contentions. They see how literature and science have specialized. They realize that scientific methods are as necessary to the proper study of history as to the proper study of astronomy or zoölogy. They know that in many, perhaps in most, of its forms literary ability is divorced from the restrained devotion to the actual fact which is as essential to the historian as to the scientist. They know that nowadays science ostentatiously disclaims any connection with literature. They feel that if this is essential for science, it is no less essential for history.

There is much truth in all these contentions. Nevertheless, taking them all together, they do not indicate what these hard-working students believe that they indicate. Because history, science, and literature have all become specialized, the theory now is that science is definitely severed from literature, and that history must follow suit. Not only do I refuse to accept this as true for history, but I do not even accept it as true for science.

THE VALUE OF IMAGINATION

It is a shallow criticism to assert that imagination tends to inaccuracy. Only a distorted imagination tends to inaccuracy. Vast and fundamental truths can be discerned and interpreted only by one whose imagination is as lofty as the soul of a Hebrew prophet. When we say that the great historian must be a man of imagination, we use the word as we use it when we say that the great statesman must be a man of imagination. Moreover, together with imagination must go the power of expression. The great speeches of statesmen and the great writings of historians can live only if they possess the deathless quality that inheres in all great literature. The greatest literary historian must of necessity be a master of the science of history, a man who has at his finger-tips all the accumulated facts from the treasure-houses of the dead past; but he must also possess the power to marshal what is dead so that before our eyes it lives again.

Many learned people seem to feel that the quality of readableness in a book is one which warrants suspicion. Indeed, not a few learned people seem to feel that the fact that a book is interesting is proof that it is shallow. This is particularly apt to be the attitude of scientific men. Very few great scientists have written interestingly, and these few have usually felt apologetic about it. Yet sooner or later the time will come when the mighty sweep of modern scientific discovery will be placed, by scientific men with the gift of expression, at the service of intelligent and cultivated laymen. Such service will be inestimable. Another writer of Canterbury Tales, another singer of Paradise Lost, could not add more to the sum of literary achievement than the man who may picture to us the phases of the age-long history of life on this globe, or make vivid before our eyes the tremendous march of the worlds through space. Indeed, I believe that already science has owed more than it suspects to the unconscious literary power of some of its representatives. Scientific writers of note had grasped the fact of evolution long before Darwin and Huxley; and the theories advanced by these men to explain evolution were not much more unsatisfactory as full explanations than the theory of natural selection itself. Yet, where their predecessors had created hardly a ripple, Darwin and Huxley succeeded in effecting a complete revolution in the thought of the age, a revolution as great as that caused by the discovery of the truth about the solar systems. I believe that the chief explanation of the difference was the very simple one that what Darwin and Huxley wrote was interesting to

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read. Every cultivated man soon had their volumes in his library, and they still keep their places on our book-shelves. But Lamarck and Cope are to be found only in the libraries of a few special students. If they had possessed a gift of expression akin to Darwin's, the doctrine of evolution would not in the popular mind have been confounded with the doctrine of natural selection, and a juster estimate than at present would obtain as to the relative merits of the explanations of evolution championed by the different scientific schools. Do not misunderstand me. In the field of historical research an immense amount can be done by men who have no literary power whatever. Moreover, the most painstaking and laborious research, covering long periods of years, is necessary in order to accumulate the material for any history worth writing at all. There are important by-paths of history, moreover, which hardly admit of treatment that would make them of interest to any but specialists. All this I fully admit. In particular, I pay high honor to the patient and truthful investigator. He does an indispensable work. My claim is merely that such work should not exclude the work of the great master who can use the materials gathered, who has the gift of vision, the quality of the seer, the power himself to see what has happened and to make what he has seen clear to the vision of others. My only protest is against those who believe that the extension of the activities of the most competent mason and most energetic contractor will supply the lack of great architects. If, as in the Middle Ages, the journeymen builders are themselves artists, why, this is the best possible solution of the problem. But if they are not artists, then their work, however much it represents of praiseworthy industry and of positive usefulness, does not take the place of the work of a great artist.

Take a concrete example. It is only of recent years that the importance of inscriptions has been realized. To the present-day scholar they are invaluable. Even to the layman, some of them turn the past into the present with startling clearness. The least imaginative is moved by the simple inscription on the Etruscan sarcophagus: "I, the great lady;" a lady so haughty that no other human being was allowed to rest near her; and yet now nothing remains but this proof of the pride of the nameless one. Or the inscription in which Queen Hatskeprut recounts her feats and her magnificence, and ends by adjuring the onlooker, when overcome by the recital, not to say "How wonderful!" but "How like her!" Could any picture of a living queen be more intimately vivid? With such inscriptions before us the wonder is that it took us so long to realize their worth. Not unnaturally this realization, when it did come, was followed by the belief that inscriptions would enable us to dispense with the great historians of antiquity. This error is worse than the former. Where the inscriptions give us light on what would otherwise be darkness, we must be profoundly grateful; but we must not confound the lesser light with the greater. We could better afford to lose every Greek inscription that has ever been found than the chapter in which Thucydides tells of the Athenian failure before Syracuse.

SHOULD HISTORY BE UTILITARIAN?

A utilitarian education should undoubtedly be the foundation of all education. But it is far from advisable, it is far from wise, to have it the end of all education. Technical training will more and more be accepted as the prime factor in our educational system, a factor as essential for the farmer, the blacksmith, the seamstress, and the cook as for the lawyer, the doctor, the engineer, and the stenographer. For similar reasons the purely practical and technical lessons of history, the lessons that help us to grapple with our immediate social and industrial problems, will also receive greater emphasis than ever before. But if we are wise we will no more permit this practical training to exclude knowledge of that part of literature which is history than of that part of literature which is poetry. Side by side with the need for the perfection of the individual in the technique of his special calling go the need of broad human sympathy, and the need of lofty and generous emotion, in that individual. Only thus can the citizenship of the modern State rise level to the complex modern social needs. No technical training, no narrowly utilitarian study of any kind, will meet this second class of needs. In part they can best be met by a training that will fit men and women to appreciate, and therefore to profit by, great poetry, and those great expressions of the historian and the statesman which rivet our interest and stir our souls. Great thoughts match and inspire heroic deeds. The same reasons that make

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the Gettysburg speech and the Second Inaugural impress themselves on men's minds far more deeply than technical treatises on the Constitutional justification of slavery or of secession, apply to fitting descriptions of the great battle and the great contest which occasioned the two speeches. The tense epic of the Gettysburg fight, the larger epic of the whole Civil War, when truthfully and vividly portrayed, will always have, and ought always to have, an attraction, an interest, that cannot be roused by the description of the same number of hours or years of ordinary existence. There are supreme moments in which intensity and not duration is the all-important element. History which is not professedly utilitarian, history which is didactic only as great poetry is unconsciously didactic, may yet possess that highest form of usefulness, the power to thrill the souls of men with stories of strength and craft and daring, and to lift them out of their common selves to the heights of high endeavor.

THE LIMITS OF HISTORICAL WRITING AND READING

History must not be treated as something set off by itself. It should not be treated as a branch of learning bound to the past by the shackles of an iron conservatism. It is neither necessary rigidly to mark the limits of the province of history, nor to treat of all that is within that province, nor to exclude any subject within that province from treatment, nor yet to treat different methods of dealing with the same subject as mutually exclusive. Every writer and every reader has his own needs, to meet himself or to be met by others. Among a great multitude of thoughtful people there is room for the widest possible variety of appeals. Let each man fearlessly choose what is of real importance and interest to him personally, reverencing authority, but not in a superstitious spirit, because he must needs reverence liberty even more.

There is an infinite variety of subjects to treat, and no need to estimate their relative importance. Because one man is interested in the history of finance, it does not mean that another is wrong in being interested in the history of war. One man's need is met by exhaustive tables of statistics; another's, by the study of the influence exerted on national life by the great orators, the Websters and Burkes, or by the poets, the Tyrtæuses and Koerners, who in crises utter what is in the nation's heart. There is need of the study of the historical workings of representative government; there is no less need of the study of the economic changes produced by the factory system. Because we study with profit what Thorold Rogers wrote of prices we are not debarred from also profiting by Mahan's studies of naval strategy. One man finds what is of most importance to his own mind and heart in tracing the effect upon humanity of the spread of malaria along the shores of the Ægean; or the effect of the Black Death on the labor market of mediæval Europe; or the profound influence upon the development of the African continent of the fatal diseases borne by the bites of insects, which close some districts to human life and others to the beasts without which humanity rests at the lowest stage of savagery. One man sees the events from one view-point, one from another. Yet another can combine both. We can be stirred by Thayer's great study of Cavour without abating our pleasure in the younger Trevelyan's volumes on Garibaldi. Because we revel in Froissart, or Joinville, or Villehardouin, there is no need that we should lack interest in the books that attempt the more difficult task of tracing the economic changes in the status of peasant, mechanic, and burgher during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. . . .

This is why the record as great writers preserve it has a value immeasurably beyond what is merely lifeless; such a record pulses with immortal life. It may recount the deed or thought of a hero at some supreme moment. It may be merely the portrayal of homely every-day life. This matters not, so long as in either event the genius of the historian enables him to paint in colors that do not fade. The cry of the Ten Thousand when they first saw the sea still stirs the hearts of men. The ruthless death scene between Jehu and Jezebel; wicked Ahab, smitten by the chance arrow, and propped in his chariot until he died at sundown; Josiah, losing his life because he would not heed the Pharaoh's solemn warning and mourned by all the singing men and the singing women —the fates of these kings and of this king's daughter are part of the common stock of knowledge of mankind. They were petty rulers of petty principalities; yet, compared with them, mighty conquerors, who added empire to empire, Shalmaneser and Sargon, are but shadows; for the deeds and the deaths of Amenhotep and Rameses, of the kings of

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Judah and Israel, are written in words that, once read, cannot be forgotten. The Peloponnesian war bulks of unreal size to-day because it once seemed thus to bulk to a master mind. Only a great historian can fittingly deal with a very great subject; yet, because the qualities of chief interest in human history can be shown on a small field no less than on a large one, some of the greatest historians have treated subjects that only their own genius rendered great.

HISTORY AND THE PLAIN PEOPLE

The greatest of future archæologists will be the great historian who, instead of being a mere antiquarian delver in dust-heaps, has the genius to reconstruct for us the immense panorama of the past. He must possess knowledge. He must possess that without which knowledge is of so little use, wisdom. What he brings from the charnel-house he must use with such potent wizardry that we shall see the life that was and not the death that is. For remember that the past was life just as much as the present is life. Whether it be Egypt or Mesopotamia or Scandinavia with which he deals, the great historian, if the facts permit him, will put before us the men and women as they actually lived, so that we shall recognize them for what they were, living beings. Men like Maspero, Breasted, and Weigall have already begun this work for the countries of the Nile and the Euphrates; for Scandinavia the groundwork was laid long ago in the Heimskringla and in such sagas as those of Burnt Njal and Gisli Soursop. Minute descriptions of mummies and of the furniture of tombs help us as little to understand the Egypt of the mighty days as to sit inside the tomb of Mount Vernon would help us to see Washington the soldier leading to battle his scarred and tattered veterans, or Washington the statesman by his serene strength of character rendering it possible for his countrymen to establish themselves as one great nation.

The great historian must be able to paint for us the life of the plain people, the ordinary men and women, of the time of which he writes. He can do this only if he possesses the highest kind of imagination. Collections of figures no more give us a picture of the past than the reading of a tariff report on hides or woolens gives us an idea of the actual lives of the men and women who live on ranches or work in factories. The great historian will, in as full measure as possible, present to us the every-day life of the men and women of the age which he describes. Nothing that tells of this life will come amiss to him. The instruments of their labor and the weapons of their warfare, the wills that they wrote, the bargains that they made, and the songs that they sang when they feasted and made love—he must use them all. He must tell us of the toil of the ordinary man in ordinary times, and of the play by which that ordinary toil was broken. He must never forget that no event stands out entirely isolated. He must trace from its obscure and humble beginnings each of the movements that in its hour of triumph has shaken the world.

Yet he must not forget that the times that are extraordinary need especial portrayal. In the revolt against the old tendency of historians to deal exclusively with the spectacular and the exceptional, to treat only of war and oratory and government, many modern writers have gone to the opposite extreme. They fail to realize that in the lives of nations, as in the lives of men, there are hours so fraught with weighty achievement, with triumph or defeat, with joy or sorrow, that each such hour may determine all the years that are to come thereafter, or may outweigh all the years that have gone before. In the writings of our historians, as in the lives of our ordinary citizens, we can neither afford to forget that it is the ordinary, every-day life which counts most; nor yet that seasons come when ordinary qualities count for but little in the face of great contending forces of good and of evil, the outcome of whose strife determines whether the nation shall walk in the glory of the morning or in the gloom of spiritual death.

THE REAL PURPOSE OF HISTORY

The true historian will bring the past before our eyes as if it were the present. He will make us see as living men the hard-faced archers of Agincourt and the war-worn spearmen who followed Alexander down beyond the rim of the known world. We shall hear grate on the coast of Britain the keels of the Low Dutch sea thieves whose children's children were to inherit unknown continents. We shall thrill to the triumphs of Hannibal. Gorgeous in our sight will rise the splendor of dead cities, and the might of the elder empires of which the very ruins crumbled to dust ages ago. Along ancient trade routes, across the world's waste spaces, the caravans shall

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move, and the admirals of uncharted seas shall furrow the oceans with their lonely prows. Beyond the dim centuries we shall see the banners float above armed hosts. We shall see conquerors riding forward to victories that have changed the course of time. We shall listen to the prophecies of forgotten seers. Ours shall be the dreams of dreamers who dreamed greatly, who saw in their vision peaks so lofty that never yet have they been reached by the sons and daughters of men. Dead poets shall sing to us the deeds of men of might and the love and the beauty of women. We shall see the dancing girls of Memphis. The scent of the flowers in the hanging gardens of Babylon will be heavy to our senses. We shall sit at feast with the Kings of Nineveh when they drink from ivory and gold. With Queen Maeve in her sun-parlor we shall watch the nearing chariots of the champions. For us the war-horns of King Olaf shall wail across the flood, and the harps sound high at festivals in forgotten halls. The frowning strongholds of the barons of old shall rise before us, and the white palace-castles from whose windows Syrian princes once looked across the blue Ægean. We shall know the valor of the two-sworded Samurai. Ours shall be the hoary wisdom and the strange crooked folly of the immemorial civilizations which tottered to a living death in India and in China. We shall see the terrible horsemen of Timur the Lame ride over the roof of the world; we shall hear the drums beat as the armies of Gustavus and Frederick and Napoleon drive forward to victory. Ours shall be the woe of burgher and peasant, and ours the stern joy when freemen triumph and justice comes to her own. The agony of the galley slaves shall be ours, and the rejoicing when the wicked are brought low and the men of evil days have their reward. We shall see the glory of trumphant violence, and the revel of those who do wrong in high places; and the broken-hearted despair that lies beneath the glory and the revel. We shall also see the supreme righteousness of the wars for freedom and justice, and know that the men who fell in these wars made all mankind their debtors.

Some day the historians will tell us of these things. Some day, too, they will tell our children of the age and the land in which we now live. They will portray the conquest of the continent. They will show the slow beginnings of settlement, the growth of the fishing and trading towns on the seacoast, the hesitating early ventures into the Indian-haunted forest. Then they will show the backwoodsmen, with their long rifles and their light axes, making their way with labor and peril through the wooded wilderness to the Mississippi; and then the endless march of the white-topped wagon trains across plain and mountain to the coast of the greatest of the five great oceans. They will show how the land which the pioneers won slowly and with incredible hardship was filled in two generations by the overflow from the countries of western and central Europe. The portentous growth of the cities will be shown, and the change from a nation of farmers to a nation of business men and artisans, and all the far-reaching consequences of the rise of the new industrialism. The formation of a new ethnic type in this melting-pot of the nations will be told. The hard materialism of our age will appear, and also the strange capacity for lofty idealism which must be reckoned with by all who would understand the American character. A people whose heroes are Washington and Lincoln, a peaceful people who fought to a finish one of the bloodiest of wars, waged solely for the sake of a great principle and a noble idea, surely possess an emergency standard far above mere money-getting.

Those who tell the Americans of the future what the Americans of to-day and of yesterday have done will perforce tell much that is unpleasant. This is but saying that they will describe the archetypical civilization of this age. Nevertheless, when the tale is finally told, I believe that it will show that the forces working for good in our national life outweigh the forces working for evil, and that, with many blunders and shortcomings, with much halting and turning aside from the path, we shall yet in the end prove our faith by our works, and show in our lives our belief that righteousness exalteth a nation.

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INDIA'S CHRONIC FAMINES

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AMERICA is confronted with the grave problem of the high cost of the current standard of living. In India the problem is not to maintain a certain standard of life—it is to sustain existence itself. Actual famine is never absent in that troubled land. To-day it is slowly disappearing from Gujrat and Cachar, to-morrow it looms up ominously in Behar and Chotanagpur. And America, I fully realize, is very much interested in this terrible problem, for it matters not whether an East Indian finds himself in a village hotel or in a first-class city hotel, whether in a poor man's humble cottage or in a rich man's mansion, everywhere and invariably he is asked about the causes of India's recurring famines. And it is not unnatural that America should do this, for America has been the first and foremost country in the world in sending aid to India in times of famine. We remember that in 1900, when people were dying of hunger by millions in India, in America the members of churches, schools, clubs, and associations were busy raising money to help their hungry Hindu brothers and sisters over seas. India gratefully received the gifts of America; and, judging from the nature of the people of Hindustan, it is easy to predict that when India's time comes, as it must, she will pay back her debt of gratitude with compound interest.

Famine is not a new thing in the world. It is as old as human society itself. In past ages, when man's knowledge of the way to harness the forces of nature was meager, when means of communication were defective, and, above all, when economic conditions were far from being understood, there were famines in every country. Even Great Britain, which has a world-wide empire and is rolling in wealth to-day, was the hotbed of famines, plagues, and pestilences.

In England, Scotland, and Wales there were in the

Eleventh century	twenty famines
Twelfth century	fifteen famines
Thirteenth century	nineteen famines
Fourteenth century	sixteen famines
Fifteenth century	nine famines
Sixteenth century	fifteen famines
Seventeenth century	six famines
Eighteenth century	seven famines
Nineteenth century	two scarcities

And in the descriptions of these famines we read such characteristic expressions as "awful famine;" "endless multitudes died of famine;" "men driven by hunger ate dog and horse flesh, rats, cats, and other vile vermin, and some abstained not from the flesh of men;" "such famine prevailed that everywhere in cities, villages, and cross-roads lifeless bodies lay unburied;" "unusual death—the living could scarcely bury the dead;" "such famine that people ate their children."[1] This was in England, Scotland, and Wales. So it was throughout Europe. So it was also on the banks of the Nile, the Euphrates, the Yangtsekiang, and the Ganges.

Now let us turn to India. I take the following figures from "Prosperous British India," by Sir William Digby:

FAMINES IN INDIA BEFORE BRITISH RULE

Eleventh century	two famines
Thirteenth century	one famine
Fourteenth century	three famines
Fifteenth century	two famines
Sixteenth century	three famines
Seventeenth century	three famines
Eighteenth century to 1745	four famines

UNDER BRITISH RULE

Eighteenth century (1769 to 1800)	seven famines
Nineteenth century	thirty-one famines

To analyze the figures of the nineteenth century a little further: In the first quarter of the nineteenth century there were five famines with 1,000,000 deaths; in the second quarter, 500,000 deaths; in the third quarter, six famines with 5,000,000 deaths; and in the fourth quarter, eighteen famines with 26,000,000 deaths.

What a change we notice now! European countries, with the aid of modern science and economic development, have killed famines; whereas in India famine still kills human beings.

There are three popular superstitions in this country regarding the real causes of famines and famine deaths in India. They are the theories of (1) over-population, (2) failure of rain, and (3) lack of foodstuffs.

Are these famines that sweep away human lives like dry leaves before the storm caused by over-population? No. Figures tell a

[1] I have these figures and statements from "The Famines of the World," by Cornelius Walford, Barrister-at-Law and author of "The Insurance Cyclopedia."

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quite different story. It is true that the total area of India forms only one-twenty-fifth of the total land area of the world, and in it live one-fifth of the entire human race. It is also true that certain portions of India are very thickly populated, such as Bengal and the United Provinces. But India taken as a whole is not over-populated. There are other countries in the world that are more congested than India. Let the following figures from "The Statesman's Year Book" bear testimony to this statement. The density of population per square mile is in

Belgium	589
Holland	454
England and Wales	405.6
Japan	317
Italy	293.47
German Empire	290.4
China	266
Austria	226
India	211

If density of population should be the cause of famines in India, there ought to be famines in Germany, England, Belgium, Holland, etc., first, then India can take its turn. And again, within India itself, Bengal, which is the most thickly populated of all the provinces in India, has the fewest famines, whereas the Central Provinces, which are thinly populated, have the most and the worst.

Again, the birth rate in India is not above the average of many other countries. It is less than that of England, Germany, Russia, and Austria. Let the following figures from Webb's "Dictionary of Statistics" tell their own stories:

BIRTH RATE PER THOUSAND

China	around 50
Russia	49
Servia	41
Hungary	40
Rumania	40
Bulgaria	39
Germany	36
Mexico	35
Chile	35
India	35
Italy	34
Great Britain	30
Japan	29

It is quite evident that over-population is not the real cause of famine in India.

Then is it caused by failure of rain? There are legions who think so. The Viceroys and other British officials talk of it in season and out of season. Even so intelligent a man as Lord Morley finds it hard to be free from the trammels of this easy superstition. Shortly after his return from India the late Rev. Charles Cuthbert Hall, President of the Union Theological Seminary of New York, rightly criticised Lord—then Mr.—Morley in a speech in his home city. He said: "Not long ago Mr. Morley made a speech in which he said he 'hoped he would not be blamed for the Indian famine; he did not suppose even Indians would demand of the Secretary of State that he play the part of Elijah on Mount Carmel,' intimating that the only difficulty is the failure of rains. But this is not true, and it seems incredible that any intelligent, adequately informed man could so misunderstand the situation." I, personally, do not think that any intelligent and well-informed man can misunderstand the situation, but it was to Mr. Morley's interest to misrepresent the state of affairs so as to send the world's thought on a wrong track, that people might not trace it to an origin not pleasant for him to contemplate.

Now what are the facts in the case? In the country as a whole, rain never fails in India. India has the heaviest rainfall in the world. In some parts of India it rains more in one day than it does in England throughout the year. Famine experts claim that "in any country an average of twenty inches properly distributed throughout the year insures reliable agriculture without irrigation." Even in famine years the average rainfall in India is far higher than twenty inches. In 1865–66, when there was a famine in Orissa, the rainfall was sixty inches.

In the year of the Bombay famine of 1876 the rainfall was fifty inches. In that of the Madras famine of 1877 it was sixty-six inches. The trouble is that water is no longer stored, as the Hindus used to store it—and this statement is corroborated by the presence of thousands of dry and silted tanks scattered throughout all India. Rain never fails in India, but it comes at the wrong time.

In America, of course, the great difficulty in irrigation is lack of water. But in India there is no want of water. Over and above the tremendous amount of rain water, India has thousands and thousands of rivers and rivulets, streams and streamlets, that rush towards the seas to empty their superabundant supply of water, which they gather from the melting snow on the tops of the mountains. The river and rain water afford a limitless source for irrigation. Major Philip B. Phipson, in the January, 1903, number of the "Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly," writing

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on "Poverty and Famine in India," says: "The water supply of India is ample for all requirements, it only requiring to be diverted from her rivers, stored up from her rainfall, and distributed over her fields, to secure such an abundance as shall leave no single human being wanting it."

This can be done only by building irrigation works of various kinds, suited to the peculiar conditions of different localities. It has been proved beyond doubt that irrigation is an antidote for failure of crops in India. But the trouble is that the British Government in India pays more attention to strategic railways and the efficiency of the army than to education, sanitation, or irrigation, even though the latter brings into the Government treasury seven per cent interest on the investment.

Thirdly, is famine caused by lack of foodstuff in the country? In America there are many who believe that lack of foodstuff is the real cause of famine in India, a superstition which is to be found in most unexpected quarters. Thus we read in a standard text-book on economics: "In India the population presses so closely upon the food supply that any considerable failure in the rice crop is sure to result in famine and starvation." A sentence like this can emanate only from ignorance or prejudice, possibly both.

In spite of the antiquated system of cultivation, in spite of the ignorance of the farmers, in spite of the caprices of the monsoon, and in spite of the inadequacy of irrigation works, India is one of the greatest food-producing countries in the world. Her rice crop is the greatest in the world, her wheat crop is surpassed only by that of Russia and the United States. In maize, peas, and pulse she stands among the first. Even in her worst famine years India has food enough for her people, and to spare. Crops may fail in the Central Province, but there is plenty in Bombay or in the Punjab. Crops may fail and famine may stare the people in the face in the United Provinces, but there is plenty, and more than plenty, in Bengal or Madras, and *vice versa*. Moreover, in famine years, when people die of starvation by thousands and millions, India actually exports food products to foreign countries. In the year 1899–1900 India saw one of the worst famines; still in that year the export of grains alone from British India stood at $60,332,445. On the average, India exports food and drink worth about $100,000,000 every year. Mr. P. C. Ray, editor of the "India World" and the author of "The Poverty Problem in India" and "Famines in India," writes: "It will not be treading on very doubtful ground to say that the intensity of a large number of Indian famines is due to the very large exportation of Indian grains." Sir James Caird said the same thing when he ascribed the Punjab famine of 1878 to the "large exportation of wheat to England."

In 1907 I remember reading in a Calcutta paper two reports, one from Barisal, where a famine was raging. There a Hindu, not being able to stand the bitter cry of hunger of his wife and children, went out of his house in search of a loan of a pound of rice, asking his wife to boil some water. She boiled the water, but her husband never came back. At last they found his dead body hanging from a tree. He had committed suicide, for the lack of a pound of rice. The other story was in a telegram from Lahore, Punjab, saying that the wheat crop was so abundant that the railway authorities were not able to supply freight trains enough to carry the wheat to the port of Karachee to be shipped to England. It is an irony of ironies that people should starve in India while there is plenty in the land. Even in the famine districts of India there is no dearth of foodstuff; it is dearth of money that causes the suffering. Relief works and private charities supply the sufferers mostly with money, say a penny or two a day, and with that they go and buy grain from the market.

If the pressure of population on the food supply were the real cause of famine in India, as the superstitious would have us believe, then may we ask in all earnestness, Why is there no famine in England? The population there is so great and the food supply so insufficient that, if England had to depend on her own food supply, she could live for only three months, and the remaining nine months she would starve. It is safe to assume that at the end of the nine months, if not earlier, there would not be one soul left to tell the story of the famine there.

Why is there no famine in Germany when, if Germany had to rely on her own food products, she would starve for three months of the year? While India exports about $60,000,000 worth of grains, the United Kingdom imports every year about $721,000,000 worth of wheat, barley, oats, etc.,

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for breadstuff alone, and Germany imports about $497,000,000 worth of grains, etc., for the same purpose.

However, with such facts and figures against Great Britain and Germany, we do not hear of famines in those countries; and India, with her abundant food supply, is still the very abode of chronic famine. Under such anomalous circumstances, what can be the real cause of famine in India? The Rev. Charles Cuthbert Hall said in the speech mentioned above: "There are factors in this terrible question which I would not care to discuss in this room. The obvious fact stares us in the face that there is at no time, in no year, any shortage of foodstuff in India. The trouble is that, the taxes imposed by the English Government being fifty per cent of the produce, the Indian starves that England's annual revenue may not be diminished by a dollar. Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, ex-Member of Parliament, asserts that it is the economic drain to Great Britain from India which impoverishes India. Mr. A. H. Haggard, formerly of the Indian Civil Service, lays it at the door of his British compatriots by saying: "Famine is the gift of the British to India; it is the return given for careers for her sons in the civil and military services, for the pride of her power and conquest, for the pension of retired officers, their widows and children, for guaranteed interest on railways and other works, for regularly paid interest on Government loans." Sir William Digby seems to agree with Mr. Haggard when he says: "England is largely responsible for the famines which have occurred in India during the nineteenth century."

But it is quite unsafe to ascribe this abnormal phenomenon to any one cause. It comes through a chain of causes inextricably mixed. No doubt if there were plenty of irrigation works the failure of rain would not at all affect the crops; again, if the farmers had a little saving in fat years, one year's failure of crops could not cause death from starvation. Why is there no saving? Because they are rack-rented and the last penny is squeezed out of them even in a fat year. The Indian farmer even then does not have the luxury of enjoying a full meal. "Land tax," wrote Colonel Briggs in 1830, "like that which now exists in India, professing to absorb the whole of the landlord's rent, was never known under any government in Europe or Asia." This impoverishing land tax is the principal item of India's revenue. The British Government must have this revenue to keep up her expensive system of government in the poorest country in the world. India is a country which is "drained of its necessities," to quote from Sir William Digby, "to pay high salaries to aliens"—a country that has been made dependent entirely on agriculture because the world-renowned industries of India were destroyed when the "British manufacturer began to employ," as says H. H. Wilson, the historian, "the arm of political injustice to keep down and ultimately strangle a competitor with whom he could not have contended on equal terms."

Thus it is evident that the causes that make for Indian famines are both economic and political; and it is hardly necessary to say that nowadays political power is a prerequisite to right economic wrongs. The people of India are realizing the hopeless derangement of their economic life which expresses itself through the ghastly mortality from famine, plague, and malaria, and complete dependence on foreign manufactures. They are also realizing that these economic diseases that afflict India can never be cured save through good government. And as they are bound to elevate the economic status of their country, they are demanding more political power.

This demand is actuated by no other motive than to make their motherland enjoy the blessings of peace—real peace—and that prosperity which every nation has a right to claim. Yesterday they asked, to-day they demand; and, if not granted, to-morrow they will command. That is the way history has acted in the past; and we have no reason to expect that she will betray herself in India.

At any cost, the chronic but "avoidable" famines of India must be stopped.

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THE SPECTATOR

WRAPPED in a golden October haze, the park glades stretched away down toward the river, broad and shining, crossed by the great bridge. Far away, beyond the water rising in misty outline, the tremendous tower of the City Hall marked the exact center of the fine background of heaven-kissing sky-scrapers, the central heart of the City of Brotherly Love. On the wide field, with its green miles of turf and its autumn-tinted boskets of trees, the Philadelphia of the past held sway in the most gorgeous pageant America has yet seen. Overlooking Belmont Field, a grand stand holding twenty thousand spectators was packed solid beneath waving pageant banners. To the left, masked behind the wall of cedars that ran in a magnificent semicircular sweep inclosing the field, were the white tents of the army of performers—five thousand of them, fairies, soldiers, Indians, courtiers, clowns, Swedish colonists, English settlers, knights, pages, cardinals, royalties, and all the rest of it. To the right, in the proscenium boxes, so to speak, of the vast natural stage, were thousands of people sitting and standing on the grass, while on the rising slopes behind them hundreds of others came and went, striving to get at least a glimpse of the scene in passing. The Spectator found the crowd a sight in itself. It was a crowd unused to pageants, attentive, and curiously quiet. Back and forth through it went young programme-sellers dressed in full eighteenth-century costume, white wigs and all. The day was cloudlessly and unprecedentedly hot—eighty-six in the shade—and the Spectator sympathized with one lad who had pushed his wig far back on his short curly dark hair; and another who had removed his entirely, only forgetting to take off also the buckled band of webbing to which it had been attached, and which remained in evidence like a maiden's snood.

The Spectator, following a custom known to circus-lovers, had borrowed a nine-year-old nephew for the occasion. One infallible rule for a good pageant is that it shall please such young observers. When the first trumpets sounded, and the gayly caparisoned heralds came riding up the glade, a mile away, there was no doubt as to the absorbed interest of the youngster. Up, up, rode the horsemen, with a fanfare of trumpets, till their leader, halting before the stand (where the Governor of Pennsylvania sat in the foremost box, with his aides), proclaimed, in clear, ringing tones:

"Ye who would learn the glory of your past
And form a forecast of the things that be,
Give heed to this, a city's trumpet-blast,
And see her pictured life in pageantry."

Saluting, turning, wheeling, galloping off, the heralds vanished down the gently rolling field as a fairy clad all in white, with a star-tipped wand, tripped to the center and waved to her sprites. Troop after troop darted out all along the green wall, swaying forward in long, broken, undulating lines of blue and pink and scarlet and orange and purple and violet and green, like a rainbow wide-flung and shattered on the sward. They twirled by the hundreds in mazy dances. They skipped and floated and ran in and out till the eye was bewildered with rich color and whirling movement.

"Indians!" cried the Spectator's nephew. "Real Indians!" So they were—the programme guaranteed it—real Indians from Carlisle, and they rushed out from the cedars yelling and dancing. They were, for the occasion, the Lenni-Lenapes and the Minquas, the friends and the enemies of the early colonists. Far down to the right pressed forward to meet them the first brave little Swedish colony—De Vries and his men, who settled Swannendael (the Dale of the Swans), on the Delaware Bay in 1631. In magic fashion, the fort and stockade were pushed forward from the boskets, and became a background for this "prologue" scene. In vain the Lenni-Lenapes tore down the arms of Sweden and besieged the fort, for, with steady step and four stately flags displayed along their front, the Dutch colonists came on, and then the English with more great banners. The Minquas cast in their lot with the white men, and the Lenni-Lenapes were broken in rout.

Then, as appropriate to the city and the State, we saw the coming of the great founder of both, William Penn, when he landed from the Welcome in 1682, and was greeted by the colonists he had sent before him under his cousin Markham, by the Swedish colonists already on the Delaware, and by the

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friendly tribes of Indians. There were two scenes in this episode, and in the later one the Welsh, German, and Scotch-Irish settlers also came in bands to greet Penn, the Welsh women in high hats and singing quaint Welsh music. The Blue Anchor Inn, set up in the background, was surrounded by trappers and Indians, and many yards of gay cloth were presented by Penn to his savage subjects.

Peace, however, began to give way to wars and rumors of war in the next episode, for, lo! though the grass was dotted here and there with the red and green booths of an autumn fair, such as was held in Philadelphia in 1773, and though boys and girls came running with hoops and skipping-ropes, and clowns tumbled and capered, and beaux and belles rode by on horseback, and a pack-train ambled by with jangling of bells, and gingerbread men and pie men cried their wares, and the peep-show and the Punch and Judy show plied a roaring trade, yet the British soldiers were there to keep watch on the citizens, and there was talk of tea ships and taxes. Even Pickle Herring, the clown, chased by a group of friendly Indians, was flourishing a shrub labeled "Tea" and crying:

"How might we blush if our sires could see
Our rights invaded by this shrub Bohea!"

And Captain Ayres, of the tea ship Polly, venturing into the fair, was caught and handled roughly, while a kettle of tar and an old feather bed were brought forward to the music of fife and drum. Such patriot figures as Dickinson, Willing, and Mifflin rushed to restrain the people, and finally the Captain, promising to sail off at once, was escorted down the field by a mob hurrahing for "No taxation without representation!"

"Oh, I've seen that house *somewhere!*" the Spectator's nephew called out, as one brick wing after another slid into place at the back of the next scene. "Wait—I know! It's the old hall—it's Independence Hall!" And sure enough it was, with the old observatory close beside it, and a brick garden wall at one side, over which three eager little maids—Lydia Darragh, Deborah Norris, and Sally Wister—stood peering on tiptoe at the crowd of excited Colonials swaying and shouting before the State House steps. From one side came the cart bearing Isaac Hunt, the Tory, to the tune of "The Rogue's March." A band of "Associators" were busy burning the King's arms, just torn down from the State House, and then, amid eager applause, Jefferson, Franklin, and others, mounting into the gallery of the observatory, read aloud the Declaration of Independence. To the splendid reality of the thing a further touch was given as the band on the grand stand played "Praise God, from whom all blessings flow."

The next scene was war. The historic Chew house, complete from its famous front steps to its gabled roof, rose at one side, as the British Light Infantry came in at double-quick on the other. At the back, on swift horses, Washington, Wayne, and three other generals had just hastened away after a hurried conference, and now, a half-mile down the vista, they could be seen returning with the glittering files of Continentals behind them. Then began a gorgeous mimic battle. Another British regiment, coming to the rescue, was driven by the Continentals into the Chew house. The fighting on the front steps was fast and furious. At the back cannon boomed incessantly, the smoke rising in white puffs into the blue. The muskets blazed all over the field, and scores of men dropped to the grass realistically. The band was playing the rattling "British Grenadier" with all its might. The British at the windows and the Americans on the lawn kept up a brisk fire, while an attempt was in progress to batter down the door with a log and set fire to the house, when on from the left, galloping full speed, came the British cavalry dragoons to save the day. In the mêlée, General Agnew, shot from his horse, fell and was carried off in a litter. The Spectator looked around at his nephew to find that young American on his feet with eyes flashing with patriotic excitement. "I'd like to die for America!" he cried, as in wave after wave of applause from the grand stand the great scene slowly dissolved. That is the kind of boy to take to a pageant.

The historic fête of the Mischianza gave the lighter side of the Revolutionary period, and so did the reception of Franklin at Versailles, and the fête for Washington at Gray's Gardens during the time when Philadelphia was the National capital. The glittering tournament, with its knights of the Blended Rose and the Burning Mountain, and its white arch framing the scarlet of the ad-

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vancing British, its martial music, its gages of battle, its pacing heralds, and stately beauty, was a feast to the eye. The gray-haired figure of Franklin in the midst of the gay courtiers, the exquisite minuet with its groups of daffodil and rose, the King and Queen under the blue royal canopy with its golden fleur-de-lis, and the gorgeous cardinals in scarlet robes, made another unforgetable picture; and Martha Washington in her coach, with the Father of his Country riding beside it, while the ladies and gentlemen of the "Republican Court" waited to welcome the two, were an equally royal pair, amid the quaint setting of the Federal Temple and the good ship Union, manned by a band of boy and girl sailors. Thirteen shepherds and thirteen shepherdesses in rose and blue, with garlanded crooks, danced before the Temple in honor of the thirteen colonies, and the cannon boomed a salute of thirteen guns.

Through all these varied scenes the great chorus, massed in the center of the stand, had sung, in strophe and antistrophe, to solemn chant and familiar melody, the story of the advancing pageant. Band and chorus together, they adorned every episode with music to be delighted in and remembered. "Hearts of Oak," "British Grenadier," "Ça Ira," "Yankee Doodle," "La Carmagnole," "The Star-Spangled Banner," "God Save the King," "Washington's March," and other old and stirring tunes were thus made part of the setting of the pageant. Above the band, in a box set forty feet high in air between two tall posts, the director of the whole, with eye sweeping the field, waved his red flag and sounded his signals to the performers in the different scenes.

At his last signals, pacing in dignified beauty across the plain, came Lady Philadelphia (none other than the Lady Mayoress herself), with her attendant nymphs of every borough—Southwark and Moreland, Moyamensing and Blockley, Germantown and Spring Garden, Kensington and Frankford, Bristol, Oxford, and Northern Liberties, and the rest, with the heralds calling them in from east, west, north, and south. Then, as they grouped in the center of the vast field on platform pedestals, the "March Past" sounded, and from one point after another, converging toward these symbolic figures, came the thousands of the pageant—tripping lines of sprites and fairies, marching files of grenadiers, stately bands of courtiers and ladies, Highlandmen stepping to the pipes, cavalry galloping, knights prancing—a whole fairy volume of romance and beauty poured forth at once, with the river and the city in the distance framing it all.

THEODORA

BY HAROLD TROWBRIDGE PULSIFER

A suppliant for peace I came
As one who, fleeing sword and fire,
Seeks refuge at the altar flame
Within a cool cathedral choir.

No bread you gave, nor any wine.
I only saw you standing there:
A mortal tranquilly divine;
An angel breathing earthly air.

I heard no voice, I saw no hand
In quiet benediction raised.
I dared not hope to understand
The God your very presence praised.

Yet all my terror and my doubt
Before your spirit's mystery
Fled:—as the Gadarene rout
Down plunging to the sudden sea.

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A BOOK A WEEK

TWO or three weeks ago The Outlook described the beautiful Watts Gallery established not long since in the quiet town of Compton, some twenty miles from London, as a lasting memorial to the life and art of George Frederick Watts. It bears over the doorway the painter's often-repeated summary of his art aspirations: "The Utmost for the Highest." Now there has just appeared another memorial to the great painter, which, like the new Gallery, is an expression of the devotion and appreciation of his wife. In three volumes fitly and almost sumptuously printed and illustrated with finely executed reproductions of Watts's most famous productions, this work also will be an abiding interpretation of what this one imaginative mind and skilled hand did for English art. (The George H. Doran Company, New York.)

In the book, as in the new Gallery, one finds at the very entrance, so to speak, the Watts basic theory in the pithy quotation of his own expression: "All that is most real and best in our lives is that which has no material reality—sentiment, love, honor, patriotism—these continue when the material things pass away." Whatever place critics of technic, and especially of color, may assign to Watts among the world's painters who have left a definite, lasting impression, all agree that he was an idealist, and that he did something more than to represent beautiful things realistically or to think solely of line or color.

Watts had a good deal of the mystic in him, but he did not sacrifice simplicity to his mysticism. The old, old debate over the real and the ideal in painting and music and writing meant in his solution the bringing to the eye and the mind the inner meaning. He did not try so much to teach us as to make us feel. And this was as true of his wonderful portraits, like those of Tennyson and Carlyle, as of his allegorical paintings, like "Life and Love" and "Love and Death." Those of us who remember the exhibition in New York years ago of the Watts portraits, or who have seen his work at the Tate Gallery in London and elsewhere, will agree that character and the essential nobility of the man portrayed were superbly pre-eminent in the appeal to our imagination. His art has often been called didactic, but the word does not exactly describe the intention, which may be better rendered in his own words: "My intention has not been so much to paint pictures that charm the eye as to suggest great thoughts that will appeal to the imagination and the heart, and kindle all that is best and noblest in humanity." How he accomplished this has been well put by a competent critic in this estimate: "It was, in short, the rare combination of supreme handicraft with a great imaginative intellect which secured to Watts his undisputed place in the public estimation of his day. The grandeur and dignity of his style, the ease and purposefulness of his brush-work, the richness and harmoniousness of his coloring—qualities partly his own, partly derived from his study of Italian masters at an early and impressionable age—are acknowledged even by those to whom his elevated educational intentions are a matter of indifference, if not of absolute disapprobation."

The great value of this biography is not so much that it includes a readable story of an interesting and kindly personality with many reminiscences of his friendships with the best men of his times, as that it does also, and really for the first time, make clear the artist's own view of his art. Here, for example, is a sententious phrasing of the prime quality in art: "A picture has no right to be suggestive of ugliness, as a musical composition has no right to be suggestive of discord. I can never consent to consider any art great in which beauty and nobility do not form the principal quality."

The symbolism of Watts has often been compared to that of Blake, but it is just what Blake's is not—simple and single. A better comparison seems to be with certain of the works of Saint Gaudens and La Farge in this country. There is nothing of the too obviously allegorical methods of the old allegorists who almost labeled their heavy embodiments of abstract qualities, but there is a direct and clear appeal to the imagination. There has been much discussion of what his "Love and Death" might mean, but see how briefly he put the whole matter. A friend had called the picture "Love Restraining Death." Watts wrote: "Love is not restraining Death, for it cannot do so; I wish to suggest the passionate though unavailing struggle to avert the inevitable." For the benefit of those who can see nothing in any of the arts if it does not appeal to the intellect, Mrs. Watts

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quotes Lord Holland's story of a man who expressed his contempt of music by saying: "It has not the slightest effect upon me, pleasurable or otherwise; what does that mean, I ask you?" "It means," was Mr. Watts's reply, "a defective organization."

Certainly those who have eyes to see can find in the art of George Frederick Watts abundance to prove that he carried out faithfully what is recorded by his wife as the desire that inspired him, expressed by him in the words: "My great and ever constant desire is to identify artistic outcome with all that is good and great in every creed and utterance, and all that is inspiring in every record of heroism, of suffering, of effort, and of experience."

THE NEW BOOKS

Masters of Modern French Criticism (The). By Irving Babbitt. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston. $2.

To the general reader literary criticism seems at least two removes from actual life. This book, which combines a critical estimate of certain critics with a philosophy of criticism, is still further removed from popular appeal. While Professor Babbitt's "New Laokoön" gained a comparatively wide notice, due as much to the apparent audacity of its title as to the soundness of its artistic theory, the present volume will probably find few hearers outside the limited circle already intimately and minutely acquainted with the field which it covers; we suspect that even the special student will find it more often scintillating than luminous.

Intimations of Immortality in the Sonnets of Shakespeare. By George H. Palmer. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston. 75c.

To lovers of what Professor Palmer calls "delicate diction" a book from his pen comes as a very real joy. His style is so characteristic, though absolutely free from mannerisms, that the reading of a page of his writing brings the sound of his voice to the ear with almost the distinctness of a phonographic record. The present volume is the thirteenth Ingersoll lecture on Immortality. As an essay of appreciation and interpretation the work belongs in the front rank of sonnet literature. As a lecture on Immortality the book is as satisfying to the spirit as a cathedral nave.

Beginnings of San Francisco (The). By Zoeth Skinner Eldredge. *Published by the Author*, San Francisco. $7.

These two well-printed volumes cover thoroughly and in great detail the subject indicated by the title. It need not be said that, both in the period of San Francisco's history previous to the gold excitement and in the exciting events following that discovery, there is an immense amount of incident of human interest and of dramatic quality; while the relations of San Francisco to the early Spanish explorers, the inducements offered to early settlers, the complicated land disputes which arose because of the doubt as to early titles, the Americanization of the country, and much else, afford valuable material for such a work. The author has evidently made a thorough study of original sources, and provides his work with appendixes and notes.

American Social and Religious Conditions. By Charles Stelzle. The Fleming H. Revell Company, New York. $1.

Mr. Stelzle shares the wide and spreading belief that the world is on the verge of a great social upheaval—if not already in it. He believes with very many that the churches are nearing a great religious revival; also that the social and the religious must coalesce for social sanity and safety in tempestuous times. In this volume, as in all his writings, he promotes this junction of religious with other social forces. He exhibits the various factors of the social movement, and the proper function of the Church as the social agency whose co-operation they call for. The problems of city life and of country life, of the immigrant, the Negro, the Indian, the Spanish-American in our Southwest, in Porto Rico, in Cuba, and of our "new frontier" in the West and South, are presented in detail, with the facts both tabulated and diagrammed, and a reckoning of the religious as well as the social factors. Then come the demands of modern efficiency and a unified programme for the churches' advance to meet them. An outline of social-service recommendations resulting from the recent Men and Religion Forward Movement leaves nothing lacking to make the book an ideal manual for the continuation of that movement in promoting the evolution of a better social order on constructive and Christian lines.

Democracy and the Church. By Samuel George Smith, Ph.D., LL.D. D. Appleton & Co., New York. $1.50.

The range of this volume is larger and its contents richer than the title may indicate to many who attach a meager meaning to its terms. The author exhibits the influence of Christianity upon the making of democracy, and exhibits

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democracy as still in making. Mr. Carnegie's pæan, "Triumphant Democracy," is marred by hoarse cries of discontent at failures to make good the boast by solving the vital problems of a real commonwealth, and is drowned in the noise of struggle to fill the form of democracy with larger power in terms of daily life. Political democracy has done much, but not as much for the many as for the few, and for these the social spirit of Christianity is heralding and working toward "the democracy of to-morrow." The lines of movement toward it, various features of it, and difficulties it encounters, are suggestively noted in the concluding chapter, with the conclusion that we shall "never have a democracy worth having upon any other terms than those of Jesus." The long and painful evolution of democracy to its present stage is sketched from the early days of Christianity, through the social revival and upheavals of the mediæval Papacy, and the social movement and influences of the Reformation epoch and its sequels; then through the rise of education and the advance of learning until now. The main facts and influences are effectively exhibited which make for the claim that "the political, industrial, and vital democracies of the world have found in the Church their greatest champion, as they have found in Jesus their loftiest prophet." Still, it seems rather premature to assert that "the ethics of Jesus have become the ethics of the State." For a university professor to stand sponsor for the fiction that "New England . . . burned witches" is inexcusable.

LETTERS TO THE OUTLOOK

THE CHIEF STATISTICIAN ON VITAL STATISTICS

In the editorial article on "Health and the Federal Government," which appeared in The Outlook of December 7, may be found some references to the condition of vital statistics in the United States which seem somewhat unjust. You say:

> At present there are no uniform vital statistics for the United States. There is no means, for example, of accurately ascertaining what the death rate in America is. Some States and some cities have vital statistics that are, in part at least, valuable, but there is no uniformity with regard to these statistics.

It is true, sadly true, that there are no vital statistics for the entire United States. As the Director of the Census has remarked, "it certainly is both strange and shameful that the United States should be so far behind the other leading countries of the world in the registration of deaths, and even more so in the registration of births." But we do possess uniform mortality statistics for a large proportion of the population of the United States. For the year 1911 there were 839,284 transcripts of deaths returned to the Bureau of the Census from the registration area for deaths, the estimated mid-year population of which was 59,275,977, or over 63 per cent of the total population of the country. The increase of this area from 40.5 per cent in 1900 is due largely to the efforts of the Bureau of the Census in conjunction with the State authorities for the adoption and enforcement of adequate registration laws. A "model bill" has been prepared, which has proved effective in operation in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Missouri, Kentucky, and other States. It went into operation in Virginia on June 14, 1912, and in Mississippi on November 1, 1912. Efforts will be made to secure its adoption in Illinois, Iowa, Tennessee, and other States during the approaching sessions of their Legislatures.

It must be understood that the registration of births and deaths is a function of State (or municipal) government. I know of no way to coerce a State legislature into passing such a law if it is unwilling to do so. A National Department of Health would have no added authority to enforce such legislation; nor do I recall, during all the hearings on the proposed bills for the establishment of a Federal health bureau or department, a single suggestion for a Federal law regarding the registration of births and deaths. There is no Constitutional authority for it. In this respect we are of course at a disadvantage as compared with foreign countries in which a national registration law can be enacted.

So far as it is possible, however, the Bureau of the Census has sought, and measurably succeeded in the effort, to bring about uniformity in vital statistics. It has promoted the introduction of uniform laws, standard certificates of births and deaths, uniform methods of reporting and classifying causes of death, treatment of stillbirths, and, in general, the adoption of uniform rules of practice in the collection and compilation of vital statistics. Its use of the international classification of causes of death (first revision) for its report on mortality statistics for the year 1900 antedated that of any other country in the world, and its active efforts for uniformity in this respect, including participation in the second decennial revision of the classification at Paris in 1909, have been largely instrumental in procuring the adoption of the inter-

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national classification by Great Britain and other countries, so that there is now practically world-wide uniformity in this most important respect. The Bureau of the Census has also endeavored to aid the work of State and city registration officials—vital statistics are not infrequently grossly neglected among the other pressing duties of public health administration—and to secure proper recognition and compensation for what is recognized as the fundamental basis of modern sanitary administration.

There is no means of comparing the death rate of one city with that of the other cities of the United States. In New York City, for example, stillbirths are not counted among the births at all. In other places they are included both in the statistics of births and the statistics of deaths. New York City can compare the death rate of children in one year with that of the previous year, and thus can measure its own progress in the immeasurably valuable work of saving infant lives. There is no way, however, by which New York can discover whether its methods are more effective than the methods of the other cities of the country, for the basis underlying its own records is different from the basis underlying the records of other cities. A National Department of Health would establish a uniform system of statistics, and would be enabled to let any city know how its work on behalf of the health of its inhabitants compared with the work done by other communities.

Reference to any of the annual reports or bulletins on mortality statistics published by the Bureau of the Census since 1900 will show extended tables in which the death rates of all cities of 10,000 population and over in registration States, as well as of the great majority of cities in non-registration States in which deaths are registered under local ordinances, are presented in considerable detail. Rates are given for individual causes as well as for the total number of deaths. For cities of 100,000 population and over detailed tables by cause and age are shown. I do not know of any other country in which information in regard to the death rates of cities, large and small alike, is so conveniently accessible. And all these rates, as published by the Bureau of the Census, are on an absolute basis of uniformity, so far as the transcripts officially certified to by the State and city registrars may be accepted as authentic. Stillbirths are, of course, uniformly excluded from both the statistics of births and deaths. Furthermore, deaths of infants occurring soon after births are not counted as stillbirths, but as deaths. The condition of foreign registration reports in these respects is chaotic, as may be seen from a report on "Infantile Mortality" recently prepared by the Royal Statistical Society, the conclusions reached being closely in accord with the position taken some years ago by the Bureau of the Census in conjunction with American registration officials. No State or city official, except through ignorance, now includes stillbirths in his compilation of births or deaths. If by "death rate of children" is meant *infantile mortality*, or the ratio of deaths of infants under one year of age per 1,000 living births, it is not true that New York City can measure its progress in the saving of infant lives by this means except for a year or two past. The registration of births was defective and no systematic attempt was made to enforce it by prosecution of delinquents until late in 1910; consequently the figures for infantile mortality for years prior to 1911 are misleading.

The general neglect of birth registration in this country is caused, primarily, by the ignorance and indifference of the public with regard to the importance of such records. Some States have no laws whatever for this purpose, many States have inadequate laws, and in few States are efforts made to *enforce* birth registration thoroughly, on a State-wide basis, with prosecution of cases of neglect. This may be only a special instance of our National disregard for law, but it is evident that until public sentiment is awake to the value of complete and accurate records of births sanitary officials will not hazard their positions by attempting to prosecute delinquents. We are making progress. The recent establishment of the Children's Bureau, which is required especially to investigate the questions of infant mortality and the birth rate, has turned a flood of influential public sentiment upon the necessity of better laws and more thorough enforcement. The Chief of this Bureau, Miss Julia C. Lathrop, is earnestly co-operating with the Bureau of the Census in its work of extending the registration area. But to suggest that the proposed National Department of Health shall "establish" a uniform system of statistics, meaning perhaps that a perfect system of registration shall be created by some magic power for the entire United States in defiance of Constitutional limitations and the necessity of educating the more backward States to helpful co-operation, can only arouse hopes that will be disappointed.

I do not wish to be misunderstood as arguing against the proposed National Department or Bureau of Health, for I am convinced that all additional power granted to our public health agencies, whether Federal, State, or municipal, will result in improvement of the vital statistics which are so indispensable for their use. I only hope that we may not underrate too much what we have already accomplished, and that we shall recognize the fact that the development of complete and effective registration of births and deaths for the entire United States is a most difficult problem, requiring Federal and State co-operation, and the education of the public to

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the knowledge of the importance of such laws, so that their thorough enforcement will be demanded.

CRESSY L. WILBUR, M.D.,
Chief Statistician.

Bureau of the Census,
Division of Vital Statistics,
Washington, D. C.

CREDIT WHERE DUE

Please permit me to correct the misinformation of the writer in your issue of January 4 that the Christmas tree in Madison Square was in any way connected with our Christmas waits in Richmond Hill. They were as separate and distinct as the poles, if the spirit behind them was the same. We have sung our carols for years and enjoyed them. The beautiful vision of the "tree of light" could have been born only in a woman's heart. To Mrs. J. B. F. Herreshoff alone does New York, and indeed the whole country, owe thanks for her wonderful idea, and since she will not give her name herself, I take the responsibility of doing it for her, though I have never seen her.

JACOB A. RIIS.

New York City.

WOMEN IN THE SYNAGOGUE

In the very interesting account by the Spectator in The Outlook in which he sympathetically describes his visit to a synagogue, he quotes the prayer, "I thank thee that thou hast not made me a woman," and asserts that it is an "eloquent testimony as to the place of woman in the synagogue." May I point out that this prayer is generally misunderstood by non-Jews and by a good many Jews? A true explanation of this prayer may be found on pages 301 and 302 of R. Travers Herford's excellent book "Pharisaism," and is as follows: "A well-known prayer, still used in the liturgy, runs thus: 'Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the World, that thou hast not made me a Gentile . . . a slave . . . a woman.' Much scorn has been poured out upon those who have offered that prayer, as if it were nothing but the utterance of arrogant vainglory. But, however it may sound to Gentiles, what the Jews meant and mean by it is this, that God is thanked for having given in the Torah (the law) the opportunity of serving him in the 'Mitzroth' (commands), which were not enjoined upon Gentiles, slaves, or women. It is not self-righteousness which is expressed in that prayer, but the acknowledgment of special obligation, a higher calling, in no way inconsistent with humility and reverence.'"

As regards the separation of the sexes in prayer, let me refer you to Abraham's "Jewish Life in the Middle Ages," pp. 25, 26, which reads: "Possibly the rigid separation grew out of the mediæval custom—more common as the thirteenth century advances—which induced men and women to spend the eve of the Great Fast in the synagogue." A tender regard for women has always been apparent in Jewish literature and customs.

JOSEPH I. GORFINKLE,
Rabbi Sinai Temple.

Mount Vernon, New York.

ANTIOCH AND EMERSON

For the sake of the truth of history will you permit me to correct for your readers an error or two in a recent interesting article in The Outlook entitled "Seventy-five Years of Higher Education for Women"? The writer, in giving credit to Antioch College as a co-educational institution, says: "Antioch College, Ohio, co-educational, founded by Horace Mann in 1852."

This error has been made by other writers. Indeed, I frequently come upon it. A few years ago a famous writer and lecturer was here to speak upon our Chautauqua platform, and his imagination was so moved by the rather unique history of the College that he went away and wrote for his magazine a beautiful dream about Antioch, in which Emerson and other Concord seers were made to be the originators of the plan to found a big co-educational institution of first-rate rank in Ohio, with Horace Mann at the head of it. Possibly your writer got her information from this source. Unfortunately, Antioch had no such benign and transcendental beginning. Emerson came to the College a number of times during Mr. Mann's presidency, but he had nothing whatever to do with the founding of it.

Antioch College was founded by a rural, pioneer people who called themselves simply "Christians." Its co-educational idea was theirs. What the College was fulfilled a dream which these people had had for a long time. With much toil, in tears, with abundant prayer, with much sacrifice, they wrought at the accomplishment of their hope. The ground was cleared and the buildings (splendid buildings) erected; and it was then that Horace Mann came, in response to an earnest call, to take the presidency, to co-operate with a people who were trying to realize what he, too, had long thought a college should be. Here he, the greatest educator of his time, lived, and here he died.

To this obscure people, the "Christians," belongs the credit of giving to this country its first complete co-educational institution of first-rate college rank without any discriminations whatever in its classes or upon its graduating platform. Oberlin, mentioned by your writer as the first co-educational college in the world, did have such discriminations in 1852 when Antioch was founded, and because of these a number of students, including several women, left Oberlin and came to Antioch and graduated in its first class. The Ladies' Course largely

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prevailed at Oberlin, and even those women who took the regular college course were not permitted to graduate upon the platform on equal terms with the men. Oberlin, the educational pride of Ohio, is in need of no glory that does not belong to her. It is a point of some historic interest that in the higher education of women Antioch was the pioneer in *complete* co-education. GEORGE D. BLACK,
Vice-President Antioch College.

MINING INFORMATION FOR THE SPECTATOR

The Spectator's article in the issue of November 16 strikes me where I live, as it were, and consequently a shadow of doubt comes into my mind as to how much of the Spectator's articles I can take without making allowance for his knowledge of what he is writing about.

I have lived in the West ever since a small boy, and my experience has been of the varied Western kind—cattle ranches, lumber camps, mining camps, and the frontier, all entering together to make up my life, as well as the cities. Some of the articles which appear in the various magazines and weekly publications cause a grin and are read by me to find out how little the writer knows of what he is writing about. The illustrations also amuse one of the West, for in some of the standard magazines I have noticed that they have their hero mount a horse from the right side. If you have ever ridden horseback, and particularly a Western horse, you would know that, if the horse had any life, the party attempting to mount him would never reach the saddle.

Coming back to the Spectator's article, I am somewhat amused by his description of going into the copper mines at Bisbee. In the first place, I note that he says that "a thousand feet underground the Spectator was shot on a lightning-speed *elevator*." Among mining men this word "elevator" is not used. We call it a "cage." Further along, near the latter end of his article, he says, "Here the chugging of steam drills. . . ." I have never had the pleasure of visiting Bisbee, and consequently do not know of their equipment in the matter of drills, but I will bet a new hat that this mining company is not using steam drills. The Spectator probably has seen steam drills at work on the excavations in and around New York, and so describes the drills in this mine. If he will stop for a moment and consider what a steam drill would mean in a mine the depth of which he says is one thousand feet, this drill being placed at the end of some drift or cross-cut, say from one to three thousand feet from the shaft—how much good air would be in either the drift or cross-cut if steam were being exhausted during the drilling operations?

No; they use air drills, using compressed air to run them. The air, after it has passed through the drill and is exhausted into the atmosphere, helps to ventilate the mine.

I presume that if I were to go to New York and should take the Spectator out to dinner, he would undoubtedly smile at the French that I might use in attempting to read the bill of fare. Consequently, I smile at the Spectator's attempt to describe the mechanical features of the Bisbee copper district. WARREN C. BOGUE.
Salt Lake City, Utah.

DOES IT PAY?

I have been very much interested in L. S. B.'s criticism, in The Outlook of December 14 last, of my article "Does it Pay?" (Outlook, November 2). I agree with her that sweeping statements are a mistake, and I tried to qualify my statement by prefacing it "as a rule." My article was not written hastily or thoughtlessly, and was the result of conversations with various classes of people from housemaids and shop-girls to shopkeepers and home-makers. I would like to quote a story to justify further some of my statements. I was spending the summer in a small seaport town where the inhabitants were mostly people of very moderate means. In the little country dry-goods store I asked one day for a certain kind of material. After pulling down a few unsatisfactory pieces, the storekeeper admitted that he did not have a good stock, and said, apologetically, "*It doesn't pay* to carry goods by the piece any more." Full of interest, I inquired, "Why not?" He answered: "Because women do not sew; they prefer to buy cheap ready-made clothes rather than get good material and make the garments, and" (he sank his voice to a confidential whisper) "I don't suppose there is a woman in G—— who mends her stockings nowadays."

One other point I crave your indulgence to consider. L. S. B. claims that because I keep two maids and pay $20 for a child's frock I cannot "comprehend the problems, wisely teach, or justly criticise the home-making woman as a class, much less the working-girl." If my statements are discredited for this reason, what becomes of the wonderful work some of our rich women are doing, the value of whose jewels alone would probably support L. S. B. or myself the rest of our days?

Strange as it may appear to L. S. B., a woman who keeps two maids does occasionally deny herself or save $5 by means of a darn—not for luxury, but to give to those who are needy. Some of us are unfitted physically for household labor, and we devote the time thus set free to the higher mental, moral, and spiritual needs of our children; to the study of economic and social conditions; and to the running of many charitable organizations in order that women with less money may avail themselves of the protection and opportunities offered. H. P. T.

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BY THE WAY

Boys—and men too—sometimes think that to be successful in politics a man must at least smoke, in order to be "hail-fellow-well-met" with all sorts and conditions of men. But here is President-elect Wilson announcing that he has smoked only one cigar. When a boy he was asked by his mother, with artful intent no doubt, to blow tobacco smoke over her rose-bushes to kill the insects. The insects died; the boy recovered, but said, "Never again!"

A well-known French architect, M. Achille Duchêne, praises recent developments in American architecture, and says of New York City's appearance that "the foreigner entering the port of New York experiences a sensation more wonderful, more peculiar, more impressive than he gains in entering any other port in the world."

Speaking of the fall in the price of eggs, two eggs of the great auk were sold last month in London for $800 each, while twenty years ago they cost their owner about $900 apiece. But the seller ought not to complain, as his eggs were no longer "strictly fresh."

Beware of heavy desserts, says Miss Jessamine Chapman, Professor of Domestic Science in Oklahoma Agricultural College. A piece of mince pie, for instance, is equal in food value to a slice of roast beef, a potato, and a piece of bread and butter. If such a dessert follows an ordinary meal, indigestion is the consequence. An alternative which might be suggested is: Reduce the size of the portions of all rich desserts, and let your guests enjoy flavors but be exempt from the dangers of satiety.

Dr. Friedman, of Berlin, has, it is announced, succeeded in greatly improving the serum for tuberculosis patients by using turtles as the experimental hosts of the bacillus. The bacilli heretofore used for inoculation have had a poisonous action that lessened their usefulness.

James Stuart, M.P., in his recently published "Reminiscences," says that in his boyhood days the workmen in a factory at Balgonie, Scotland, who were keen politicians, subscribed to a weekly paper and paid one of their number to read it aloud to them. One wonders how many present-day factory workers show a similar interest in current events.

Governor Sulzer, of New York, is said always to carry with him on his travels a fine photograph of his wife, which is immediately placed on his dressing-table when he arrives at a hotel. Pointing at this picture recently, he remarked, as reported: "The best day of my life from every standpoint was when that lady married me."

Last year 133 mountain-climbers lost their lives in the Alps, most of them being unaccompanied by guides. Self-confidence is a dangerous companion in mountaineering; as of old, "pride goeth before a fall."

The advance in electric lighting during the past few years is to be taken advantage of at the Panama-Pacific Exposition to produce wonderful spectacular effects. Among other features planned for, there will be 48 electric scintillators, one for each State, which will be placed on barges in the bay. These will be used for producing auroras and other color effects which, it is said, will be visible for fifty miles around San Francisco.

Captain Roald Amundsen, the discoverer of the South Pole, is to lecture in America this winter. His book about the discovery is also to be published at once. Future books of exploration can hardly hope to vie with this in interest, for the South Pole was the last of the important geographical worlds to be conquered.

Joseph Jefferson, says Mary Shaw in the "Century," was once introduced at a club by a blundering chairman as "Mr. Washington Irving—I—I mean—Mr. Rip Van Winkle—I—I—m—mean—Mr. Joseph Jefferson." Mr. Jefferson, being somewhat deaf, did not hear this, and misunderstood the prolonged laughter that greeted him as he rose. On its real cause being later explained to him, he was relieved, and exclaimed, "Good heavens! I don't wonder they roared at that tripping down the scale."

If the geography class were asked what language the people of Salonika, recently so much in the public eye, speak, how many would answer "Greek" or "Turkish"? But a writer in "Travel" says that Spanish is the dominant tongue. Spanish Jews, expatriated in the time of Ferdinand and Isabella, fled to the Turkish city, according to this writer, and their descendants constitute nearly two-thirds of Salonika's population.

Admiral Dewey has reached the ripe age of seventy-five. On his birthday recently he received many congratulations at his home in Washington, it being frequently remarked that he seemed as capable physically and mentally as when he won his famous victory a dozen or more years ago.

An employer of Hindu laborers in the West says that they excel all other foreign nationalities in learning to speak the English language. He also notes another trait which shows that they arrived long ago at an aversion to the common drinking-cup. In drinking they use two dippers and a bucket. With one dipper they take the water from the bucket and fill the other dipper, from which a man drinks; this dipper is then rinsed out before another man uses it.

James Creelman, himself a well-known war correspondent, said in a recent interview that, in his opinion, James McGahan was the greatest war correspondent that ever lived, and that Sir Howard Russell ranked next. The present restrictions on newspaper men's activities by the military authorities have, Mr. Creelman thinks, made the war correspondent's task an almost impossible one. But if the aeroplane really comes—?

A supposed conversation reported in the Washington "Herald:" "Our college won." "They did? Rah! rah! rah! What did they win?" "The debate." "Oh, pshaw!" This is fairly offset by the following news item from the New York "Sun:" "Norman S. Taber, the sensational miler of the year, has been chosen as one of the two Rhodes scholars to go to Oxford University. . . . In addition to being captain of the Brown track team, Taber is president of the Young Men's Christian Association of the University."

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